

*Pam. Secar*

THE

**SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT**

OF THE

**AMERICAN SOCIETY**

FOR

**Colonizing the Free People of Colour**

OF THE

**UNITED STATES.**

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**WITH AN APPENDIX.**

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**WASHINGTON :**

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**PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.**

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**1824.**

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RALPH RANDOLPH GURLEY.

# COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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The American Colonization Society held its Annual Meeting at the Supreme Court Room, in the Capitol, on Friday evening, 20th February, 1824.

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[We are greatly obliged to Mr. A. J. Stansbury, Reporter of the House of Representatives, for the following account of the proceedings on this occasion.]

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After the Hon. Bushrod Washington had taken the Chair, the Report of the Board was read by Mr. Gurley.

General Robert Goodloe Harper then rose and offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Board of Managers, for their active and successful attention to the affairs of the Society confided to their care, the prudence, steadiness, and diligence, displayed by them in all their operations, and their very able and satisfactory Report laid before this meeting.

General Harper then rose and addressed the meeting to the following effect :

MR. PRESIDENT,

I will now call the attention of the Society to a matter of some, though not, perhaps, of very great importance. It is to a proposition for giving a name to our African Colony. Names are, at all times, matters of convenience, and sometimes of advantage. Our Colony has at present no name. It is situated, indeed, near a Cape called Montserado, and has hitherto taken its only designation from this circumstance ; but that is a name not appropriate to its object, a name that means nothing. In reflecting on this circumstance, I have thought of

a name that is peculiar, short, and familiar, and that expresses the object and nature of the establishment—it is the term **LIBERIA** ; and denotes a settlement of persons *made free*: for our Colony may with truth be called the home and country of freedmen, in contradistinction to the slaves of whom they once formed a part. This name, if I mistake not, will be found easy and apt ; and it certainly has the merit of being very concise.

General Harper then submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That the territory and settlement of the Society, near Cape Montserado, on the southwest coast of Africa, be, and hereby is, named **LIBERIA** ; by which name it shall be called and known in all the acts and writings of the Society and its agents.

General Harper again rose and said,

I will now offer another resolution of a similar character, but with a different object. It is not only to give a name to the principal town in our infant settlement, but at the same time to mark the gratitude of this Society to that venerable and distinguished individual, to whom it is more indebted than to any other single man. It is perfectly well-known, that but for the favourable use he has been pleased to make of the great powers confided to him, (a use as wise as it was liberal,) all our attempts and efforts must have been unavailing. No means that we possessed, or could have procured, would have proved adequate without his aid. As an acknowledgment of gratitude for his high and useful services, I make the following motion :

*Resolved*, That the town laid out and established at Liberia, shall, in like manner, be called and known by the name of **MONROVIA**, as an acknowledgment of the important benefits conferred on the settlement by the present illustrious chief magistrate of the United States.

General Harper then rose and addressed the Society in an able and interesting speech ; of which the following very imperfect outline has been preserved :

I have now a proposition to submit of more important import, and, perhaps, of more doubtful character ; (I do not



mean in my own opinion, for of its propriety I entertain no doubt ; but in the opinion of others.

I hold it perfectly clear, from what has come to my knowledge of the progress of this, and all similar establishments, that no means within the possession of this or of any other private association, are adequate to the attainment of those objects which such an association ought to hold in view. What are these objects ? They are in the first place to aid ourselves, by relieving us from a species of population pregnant with future danger and present inconvenience ; to advance the interests of the United States by removing a great public evil ; to promote the benefit of the individuals removed, as well as of those of the same race that yet remain ; and finally, to benefit Africa by spreading the blessings of knowledge and freedom on a continent that now contains 150 millions of people, plunged in all the degradation of idolatry, superstition, and ignorance. All these objects are embraced in the vast enterprise in which we have engaged. To attain these ends, to confer on the sons of Africa and on Africa herself, blessings so great so invaluable as these, requires means beyond the reach of any private individuals to command ; all we have yet done, all we can expect to do, is merely to pave the way, to point out the track ; and in accomplishing this, we have derived the most essential aid from the chief Executive Officer of the Union. These efforts of the Society have shown that it is practicable to transplant Africans from our shores to those of their native continent, and that when thus transferred, they are capable of enjoying freedom, civilization, and christianity. A few hundreds, at the utmost, a thousand colonists, might be within the reach of our efforts ; by such an experiment we shall demonstrate this, and essentially benefit the individuals ; but farther we cannot, by our own exertions, hope to go.

In the mean while, there exists among us a great social evil ; a cancer on the body politic, that is gradually eating its way to the vitals of the state :—It is at work while we sleep and when we wake—and it will continue, if not speedily arrested,

to pervade and corrode, till at length it has destroyed, the entire mass of our social strength and happiness. It can't be touched by us ; it needs a far mightier hand. The removal of a few thousand individuals will, in an evil of such magnitude, produce but little effect— it will not even materially benefit this class of population themselves; for it consists of more than a million and a half of persons—and though 3 or 400,000 already free should be removed, the great political mischief among us would be but slightly affected. And though the benefits derived to Africa from such an increase of the Colony would not be unimportant, yet would they be small in comparison with those which the country may expect, from the complete eradication of this evil.

How then is that more extensive operation which alone can complete the scope of our design to be ultimately, or ever, accomplished ? How is this vast mass of a vicious population to be safely withdrawn from among us, and with justice to those more immediately interested in their present condition ? Their removal must have three qualifying circumstances. First, it must be *gradual*, for if attempted suddenly, a void would be occasioned by the precipitate subduction of so great an amount of effective labour, that would threaten the most serious inconvenience, if not great calamity. In the second place, it must be done *with their own consent* ; for to think of doing it without, seems equally against reason, justice, and the dictates of religion. And in the third place, it must be done with the consent of those who have an interest in their labour—to no other idea would I ever yield my approbation or consent. Now, to accomplish the object we desire on the three conditions I have stated, most evidently requires national means. These means ought to be applied ; the object is national, in its character, and in its consequences.

If a hostile army threatened to invade any portion of these United States, would it not afford a legitimate employment for the army and the fleet ? Whether it were New-Orleans or Eastport that were threatened, would make no difference in the question—the object would still be national, and the na-

tional force would be called forth to meet it. I ask then whether the existence itself, of one or more of the States, is not a national object? And whether an evil threatening that existence is not a national evil? I need not prove it—to those who reflect at all, it cannot but be self-evident. To the national government then let us address ourselves. The object on which we address them is national in its magnitude, as well as in its consequences, both for good and evil—(chiefly for evil.) To have applied before, would have been premature—to such an application it might, and probably would have been replied,—“Shew us that your object is feasible; convince us that the thing can be done,” and such an answer would, I think, have been a wise and solid one. But now it cannot be made. The thing not only can be done, but has been done. A colony is actually established, in a healthy situation; peace has been secured; the means of supply and of sustenance are provided; all is done that needs to be done to complete the experiment, and to prove the practicability of the plan proposed.—Now we can go to the government with solid argument to support us, and appeal to their good sense as well as to their patriotism.

Gen. HARPER then submitted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That a respectful memorial be presented to Congress, on the part of this Society, stating the progress that has been made in establishing a colony of free people of colour at Liberia, on the south-west coast of Africa, the difficulties that have been surmounted in the progress of this establishment, its present situation, its prospects of ultimate success, and the benefits which it may be expected to produce; and praying for aid from the national government, in the further prosecution of this great national undertaking.

General Charles Fenton Mercer rose in reply.

He had listened, he said, with great pleasure to the remarks of his eloquent friend; and he did not now rise for the purpose of opposing the adoption of the resolution he had proposed to the Society, but only to remark on some of the introductory observations by which he had supported it. At a former meeting of the Society in this city, a resolution had

been brought forward of a similar kind. I doubted, said General M. its policy at that time, on a belief that our affairs were not yet ripe for such a measure. At the first organization of the Society, its sanguine friends were agreed in the opinion, that its success must depend chiefly on public opinion. The advocates of the plan might be charged with enthusiasm, which, in matters either of religion or of liberty, is apt to make men ready to believe almost whatever they wished, and to anticipate success as if it were to be produced by miracles. To repel this idea, it was agreed by all that the steps of the Society must be marked with the utmost caution and prudence; that in its acts might be found the best and most convenient answer to such an objection. It is now but seven years since the enterprise has assumed a public form; though it is as much as twenty years since in my parent state such a measure was first suggested. It was then discussed in secret council, and revolved only in the inmost meditations of a few distinguished men. Seven years ago the intelligence of the fact that such a plan was maturing, broke in upon my own mind, and brought with it the first ray of light upon a subject which it had been long and deeply, but almost hopelessly, pondering. After contemplating the evil in every various point of view, the result was that it was irremediable. This plan brought to me the first gleam of hope. It was not without difficulty that the Virginia Legislature determined to make public those councils; and since the promulgation of them the plan had had to encounter the most serious difficulties in public opinion. Nor is this at all surprising. The plan itself is imperfectly known or understood; in those parts of the Union remote from the slave holding states, we have few auxiliary societies, and the subject is little discussed. And though our progress has been more rapid of late, even now the means we possess, when compared with the population on which an influence has been attempted, are small, and I apprehend that we overrate the amount of our moral influence in society, when we indulge the supposition that our system is at present ripe for the measure proposed. We shall still be met with the charge

of enthusiasm ; and the objection has already been expressed by a Senator of the United States, that our object is grasped by feeble hands, wholly inadequate to sustain or to wield it. The objection is valid, if we alone are to make the attempt, or if it is to be attempted at all without the strength of the whole republic. And the question now presented is, whether we have so far conciliated public opinion as to render it safe to make an appeal to the government ; ours is emphatically a government of public opinion. We shall have to encounter that reluctance which is always felt towards embarking in new and untried enterprises : our effort contemplates great objects ; it looks at the colonization of those who go from our own shores, and the civilization of the native Africans. Reason shrinks appalled at the magnitude of the undertaking, and it will be attributed rather to the ardent wishes of our hearts, than the cool determination of our understandings, unless we mark our every movement with extreme caution.

So far we have lost nothing, not even time ; for while the Colony has been gradually making progress, we have been occupied in exertions in our own country. If those exertions had so far succeeded as to bring the subject into discussion in every state of the Union, I should think we ought to apply to Congress with a hope of success ; but I fear that we shall meet with difficulties in that body from prejudice, from the power of habit, and from constitutional difficulties as to the power of appropriation. On these accounts I should have preferred delay, till the legislatures of the several states had strengthened our application by memorials on the subject.

Still, however, we have obtained some. The Legislatures of Georgia, of Tennessee, of Maryland, and Virginia, have expressed sentiments favourable to our general object, and Ohio goes the full length of the resolution now on the table. But this is only a small portion of twenty-four states. I am not disposed, however, to oppose the resolution, but I doubt its policy.

I did hope the Managers would, ere this time, have ascertained the temper of the present Congress on this subject

If this has been done, and we have any reasonable hope of success, I should then think we had better present our memorial ; but I am unwilling that it should be presented and fail.

I entirely concur with my friend in the encomium he has pronounced on our venerable Chief Magistrate for the firm and patriotic efforts by which he has advanced the design in which we are engaged. It is known to all the members of the Society, that \$100,000 were appropriated three years since, and 30 or 40,000 have been since applied to an object affiliated to our design, and essentially, though collaterally, contributing to its advancement ; the sending out of Agents of the United States to the African coast, and the transportation of persons in the public ships. By these means we have obtained, in fact, all we could have expected to obtain, had Congress decided to aid our enterprise ; nor has this been done by any perversion of his powers. It has been done avowedly and in good faith. The Executive apprized Congress of his construction of the powers confided to him, and that body tacitly assented to the construction. And I am not sure that it will be good policy to ask Congress for aid in a direct form, when we are already sure of receiving it from a collateral source. We may, in the mean while, expect to receive aid from each of the State Legislatures, in relation to the black population within the bounds of such state.

I only differ from my highly respectable friend in point of time. The policy is American throughout, for whatever relieves the south aids the north ; the strength of the south would be more available in time of war ; and in peace, a free-man is always better than a slave. The north, whatever she may think, or however she may feel, has a deep interest in the emancipation and the colonization of the slave population of the southern states. I make these remarks in reply to the argument of selfishness, which is sometimes brought in bar of the claims of this society to northern patronage ; for we have been charged with wishing only to remove our free blacks, that we may the more effectually rivet the chains of the slave. But the class we first seek to remove, are neither freemen nor slaves ; but between both, and more miserable than either.

George Washington Park Custis, Esq. then rose, and said that he would do himself the honour of seconding the motion made by his honourable friend. Mr. Custis supported the adoption of the proposed measure of applying for aid to the General Government in a speech replete with impressive imagery, but of which our limits will admit us to present only a very summary view. He observed that the early history of every attempt at Colonization had been uniformly marked with disaster, as if it were the will of heaven that all great and novel enterprises should be attended with difficulty in their outset, to shew how those difficulties could sink before labour and virtue. The cause of this Society had virtue on its side ; the object it sought to achieve was an act of retributive justice. The race it sought to benefit had been torn by the white man from their home and native land, and condemned without a provocation to toil and servitude ; and now we were endeavouring, by restoring to the land of their nativity to remedy, so far as remained in our power, the evil of our forefathers. With such an object to plead for, he would go to the great council of the nation as the guardians of American liberty, the conservators of the public morals : and he would tell them “ You are the last of Republics ; you boast that this is the seat of freedom, of justice, of honour, of high and magnanimous feeling. The evil we would remedy is none of ours, it was done before we were born, and it is left for us to undo.— Lend us your aid to strike the fetters from the slave, and to spread the enjoyment of unfettered freedom over the whole of our favoured and happy land.”

Mr. Custis then made some remarks in reply to what had fallen from Gen. Mercer, respecting the prejudices which still existed in northern sections of the Union, in relation to the character and designs of the Society ; and contended that it was not possible that such a feeling could long continue.

They have not forgotten that southern men were at their side when they braved the Canadian snows, and scaled the icy bulwarks of Quebec. Then we were only confederated states, now we are one nation, one family. He passed a warm enco-

mium upon the northern character, and felicitated the people of that part of the Union on their distinguished blessings and happy condition. But would they not dispense these blessings? Did they not feel for the condition of the south, so opposite in many respects to their own? Could they forget the heights of Cambridge, where they saw the hunting-shirt of the south coming up to their aid, and heard the voice of their brethren hailing the spark of freedom that northern hands had kindled, and crying out—"Go on, we are coming to support you!"

Mr. Custis anticipated with exaltation the results that would follow the success of the Society's efforts in removing this wretched population from the American soil, and restoring them to the land of their forefathers. When the bark that bore them approached the African shore, it would not be hailed with such shouts as welcomed Columbus when he bore to the people of the Western Archipelago the emblem of the cross—an emblem that appeared only to both nations in each others blood. We sent them the star spangled banner, that constellation whose rising lighted the world to freedom. When that banner shall float over their corn-clad hills and plains, waving in harvest, they will not think of Cortes or Pizarro—the name of America will be hailed with enthusiasm by millions on that vast continent that are now unborn. He called the society to remember the first colonization of this country. A feeble little vessel bore the adventurous band, but virtue and religion led the way; the genius of philosophy was perched upon the helm. Now we are become a great nation; should we not pity others?

In his remarks upon the unhappy situation of the planters, Mr. C. said, that what he spoke, he spoke not from speculation; he brought not the dreams of others, but his own experience; touching all those evils, he might with truth say—

*Quorum magna pars fui.*

He had lived to see, and painfully to feel, the errors of the system. His great hope lay in the magnanimity of those who were happily free from that system, and who, when they un-



derstood and became convinced of the feelings and desires of the men of the south for its entire removal, and saw a plan for that removal that presented a feasible prospect of success, would not, could not, refuse their aid to carry it into effect. The nation possessed the power to effect it. The Republic was not now feeble and panting from the mighty effort of its newly accomplished emancipation ; it had had time to breathe, to recruit its strength, to be refreshed, and to prepare itself for new exertions in the cause of light and liberty, and human happiness. On the subject of this enterprise, the nation has been as if in a deep sleep ; but when a lion slept, it was not the time to form conjectures on his power ; would you see his strength, you must rouse him up from his lair. With respect to the American Republic, she had only to awake, she had but to

“Stretch her hand—

She heav'd the gods the ocean of the land.”

What had she not already achieved ? If she could only be brought to *think* upon this subject, and once to turn her strength to its accomplishment, all difficulties would vanish before her way. The national genius, like the tube of Herschell, will discover satellites and suns that none believed had place within the starry sphere.

Mr. Custis urged the Society to persevere in its attempt upon the coast, undismayed by any discouragements. They may destroy our huts ; they may overwhelm us with numbers ; our bones may be scattered on the shore, but still we must persevere ; still let Columbia's flag be seen upon the coast, so long as we can hold but an inch of ground. Though we may be again and again cast down, still let us rise like Anteus from the ground, with strength renewed and invigorated by every repulse. He said he was a late convert to this cause ; but he had learned from the highest authority, that there was more joy over one that repented, than over ninety and nine persons who needed no repentance. He trusted the Society would continue its course under the same wise and able direction that had hitherto guided it. Light appeared in the horizon.

a triumph was before this Society such as the wisest man might envy, and the most virtuous man long to realize. They would triumph, not as conquerors, binding bleeding nations to their chariot wheels ; but as liberators, who came not to destroy but to save. Their triumph would not be like that of Pompey for three nations subdued ; whose train was filled with the groaning of captives in chains : their march would be surrounded by the songs of the grateful, the blessings of the free ; their triumph would be recorded in two hemispheres, and its lasting memorial would be written in heaven.

Gen. Harper replied, although his very able friend was not absolutely in opposition, he had suggested strong objections, deserving serious consideration. If we are defeated again and again in our addresses to the Legislature, this should not damp our ardour, but give new courage for new attacks. It is not whether public opinion is ready for this measure, but are we ready ? If so, aid may be claimed in our behalf : let us go to the Legislature and appeal to their good sense, rouse their feelings, awaken their patriotism, soften their hearts, and enlighten their understandings.

It is said there is no government for the colony, therefore this measure is premature. This is a reason with me for making the application. The Legislature of the United States only can form a Government ; I hope they will do it ; I think they ought to do it. They can create what now does not exist. Thus far, the Government has been only by consent and mutual understanding : a generous assumption of authority for beneficial purposes. Numerous applications to Congress may be necessary. The sooner they begin to be made, the sooner will they be acted on. I do not wish to see in Africa a colonial government, permanently attached to the United States. I do not wish for colonies to be held for use and made subservient : but I wish to see the paternal arm of authority stretched out for the protection of this colony, until it shall be able to manage its own affairs, legislative, judicial and executive.

This state of things cannot exist immediately. We hope it will soon. The authority now required is temporary to fit

the colony for perfect political independence. Such authority may be exerted. How soon Congress may think proper to establish a government for the colony is unknown : the sooner it is done the better. But Congress, it is said, will object to measures which may incur expense. There is in this body, it is said, a dread of taxation, and aid will be refused on the ground of economy. These difficulties are inherent in the very nature of our object. They arise from the character of our government and people. They must be met at some time : the sooner we commence, the sooner shall we overcome them. If our journey is long, we should set out the sooner.

It is said we must seek aid from the states—granted. They are called upon by the most powerful motives to activity and energy in the cause. But has not the nation an interest in our object as well as the states ? Let us go to all the states ; but not exclude the national government. There is scope for all united. There is a vast national object to be attained. I heartily concur in the opinion, that we should apply to the states. But by addressing Congress, we shall prepare the way for such application. We ought to explain our views and plan soon and fully ; so that they may be seen and understood by the nation. The sooner and the more fully this is done the better ; and in no way can it be so well done, as by an application to Congress, and the discussions to which it will give rise. Thus our light, instead of remaining hid under a bushel, will be placed on high, and seen by the nation.

W. JONES, Esq. made some remarks concerning the difficulty of the subject under discussion, and proposed the following resolution, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That the resolution just offered be referred to a committee of five, who shall be instructed to inquire into the expediency of an immediate application to Congress, and the nature and extent of the aid to be asked for ; and, that the said committee report the result of its inquiries to an adjourned meeting of this Society, on Friday, 5th March next.

The committee appointed under this resolution were—  
Gen. R. G. HARPER, W. JONES, Esq. WM. H. FITZHUGH, Esq.  
Gen. C. F. MERCER, Gen. JOHN MASON.

On motion by G. W. P. CUSTIS, Esq. *Resolved*, That this meeting consider the important services rendered to the African Colony when in circumstances of great distress, by Capt. Robert Traill Spence, and the officers and crew of the U. S. ship Cyane, services which were performed by them at the hazard of their lives, as entitling them to the gratitude and respect of all the friends of mankind.

On motion of Gen. C. F. MERCER, *Resolved*, That this meeting recommend to their friends the formation, as soon as practicable; of an Auxiliary State Society, in the principal city of each state in the Union, and the establishment of Societies subordinate to these, in each county or town of the several states.

On motion of Rev. WM. HAWLEY, *Resolved*, That this Society deeply lament the untimely death of Lieutenant Richard Dashiell, Commandant of the United States' schooner Augusta, whose piety and zeal in behalf of religion, and of the interest and prosperity of this Society, entitle his memory to be cherished with the most affectionate regard, by all the friends of this institution.

On motion of Rev. R. R. GURLEY, *Resolved*, That this Society is deeply sensible of its great obligations to Captain Laing, Captain McCoy, Captain Woolrige, Lieutenant Rothcray, and those other officers in the service of his Britannic Majesty, who, during the recent contest between the American colony and the native tribes, contributed very important aid to our infant settlement.

On motion of Rev. LUTHER RICE, *Resolved*, That this meeting are truly sensible of the great generosity and disinterestedness of Mr. R. Seton, who, in a time of distress, offered his services to the colony, and that they deeply lament his death.

On motion of Rev. R. R. Gurley, *Resolved*, That this meeting consider the conduct of Midshipman Gordon, and his brave companions, of his Britannic Majesty's schooner Driver, who, when the colony was in a condition of great peril, offered their services for its defence, most of whom sacrificed their lives for its benefit, as most magnanimous, and entitling their memory to a grateful, sacred, and perpetual regard.

On motion of Gen. JOHN MASON, *Resolved*, That the able services of Dr. Eli Ayres, the Agent of the Society in the African colony, have entitling him to the gratitude, confidence, and esteem, of this meeting, and of all the friends of the objects it has in view.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Officers of the Society elected at the last annual meeting, be continued for the ensuing year.

*Resolved*, That the Society now adjourn, to meet again at the same place, on Friday, 5th March next.

# REPORT.

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WITH the warmest gratitude and invigorated hope, the Board record the events connected with their institution during the past year.

Aware of the exposed and suffering condition of the colony, the Managers proceeded, immediately after the publication of their last Report, notwithstanding the unfavourable season, to select emigrants and obtain supplies for an expedition. Efforts had been previously, but unsuccessfully made, to accomplish this object, and the delay was occasioned by circumstances which the Board could not control. Dr. Ayres, whose previous exertions as the government agent had been so important, consented to return ; sixty-one coloured persons were received as colonists, and the brig Oswego, Capt. Wightman, was chartered, to convey this reinforcement, with its stores, to Africa. At this crisis, most alarming intelligence was received from the Colony.

In the hope of relieving themselves from strangers whose operations began to excite apprehension, and of pillaging their dwellings, all the tribes in the vicinity of the Cape had combined for the destruction of the settlement, and, strengthened by numerous mercenary warriors from the interior, had proceeded to violent and repeated attacks. Though the whole military force of the Colony did not at

this time exceed thirty men, yet their favourable position, superior arms and skill, and valorous spirit enabled them to repel, on the 8th of November, 800 of the natives, and on the 1st of December, according to the estimation of the Agent, nearly double this number, with a loss of only four killed and three wounded.

The same letters which informed the Board of this unfortunate contest, announced the cessation of hostilities, in consequence of the consent of the natives, to refer all matters of difference to the Governor of Sierra Leone. Though the intelligent and manly resistance of the settlers contributed in no small degree to discourage the assailants, yet for the truce just mentioned, the Colony was principally indebted to the kind interference of several British naval officers, particularly to that of Capt. Laing, the celebrated African traveller, whose familiar acquaintance with the native character gave facility and advantage to his negotiations.\*

Though this information was received only a few days before the departure of the Oswego, and when the colonists were already assembled for embarkation, yet duty as well as policy demanded, that it should not be concealed; that those who were about to link all their temporal interests with the destinies of the establishment in Africa, should not be left ignorant of its condition and prospects. A full statement was therefore made to them of all the facts just related; they were told that before them

\* Appendix, papers marked A.

were trials, perhaps death: that a Colony could survive in Africa only through the efforts of energetic, patient, and fearless men; that regrets would be too late when they were landed on a distant shore; that they were now at full liberty to remain in this country; yet the Board record it with pleasure, as an honourable instance of resolution, that no change was expressed in the purpose of a single individual.

The Oswego sailed from Baltimore on the 16th of April, and arrived at Cape Montserado on the 24th of May. The joy excited at the Colony by this event cannot be described. Unfortunately, the war, and subsequent attention to works of defence, had prevented any due preparation for the reception of emigrants, and though this circumstance, at any season, must have occasioned deep regret, at the commencement of the rains it was peculiarly distressing. A fever soon commenced, and spread with great rapidity amongst the new colonists. This was not unexpected; and considering the previous exertions of these people to unload the ship, their wretched accommodations, their early deprivation of the personal attentions of Dr. Ayres, who was among the first seized by the disease; the occurrence of eight deaths, furnishes in the view of the Board, no reason for change in the opinion which they have entertained of the African climate. Let it be remembered, that this fever has been generally mild, and that it has appeared in no instance among those who have resided one year at the Colony. A tropical climate is always trying for a short season,

to foreign constitutions, and the air of Montserado is, the Board are well convinced, pregnant with no danger, which is not annually encountered by thousands, who emigrate to the West Indies, or to the low lands of our southern states.

Nothing, surely, can be more unphilosophical, than to attribute an effect to one cause rather than to another, when various causes exist, any one of which may, with the same probability, have produced it, or to consider an effect as resulting from one only of several existing causes, which is most frequently produced by their combined power. Every intelligent and candid man must perceive, that the mortality among the colonists in Africa, may be imputed to other single causes with no less propriety than to the influence of climate, and that to consider the climate as alone efficient in the production of this mortality, would be, to leave unnoticed circumstances, which all history will show, have in their simultaneous agency excited diseases destructive to human life. One half the emigrants who landed at Plymouth, in the winter of 1620, died before spring. Did this fact furnish ground for the conclusion that the settlement of New-England was impracticable? The affirmative of this question might be consistently maintained by him, who, from the misfortunes which have impeded the progress of our Society, can deduce an argument to prove its design without wisdom, and its success impossible.

And here, the Board cannot but advert to the misrepresentations, which have, through the sedulity of



opposers, obtained an extensive circulation, and endeavour, by the exhibition of a few facts, to remove any false impressions which these fictitious reports may have left on the public mind.

Since the origin of the Society, two hundred and twenty-five emigrants, exclusive of those now on their passage, in the ship *Cyrus*, have sailed to Africa under the patronage of the Board. The census received with the last letters from Dr. Ayres, states the number then at the Colony, to be one hundred and forty. Let it not be supposed that this diminution of numbers has resulted from mortality alone. Previous to the purchase of Cape Montserado, several discontented individuals abandoned the Colony and settled at Sierra Leone, others returned to this country. Information of forty-six deaths only has been received by the Board. That more have occurred, the Board have no reason to believe. Twenty-two of these were among the passengers in the *Elizabeth*, the first vessel sent by the Society to Africa, and occurred soon after her arrival, near the commencement of the rains, through the unhealthiness of the spot on which, for a season, they were compelled to reside, and various other causes, by which future emigrants can never be affected. Four others took place while the colonists were at Sierra Leone, two of them only were the result of fever. Twenty others have taken place at the Colony since its establishment at Cape Montserado early in the spring of 1822; of these, four were killed in the

recent contest with the natives ; two were drowned, one died at the age of eighty through gradual decay, and one perished through his own rashness. Four others were children under four years of age. Now, the Board appeal to the candour of their countrymen, and ask, whether, when the difficulties and trials which must for a season, be inevitably experienced by every new settlement on a distant and barbarous shore, are duly considered, the facts just related, furnish reasons to conclude, that the establishment of a Colony in Africa is impracticable?

Mention has been already made of the friendly aid afforded to the Colony, when in circumstances of extreme peril, by the officers and crew of his Britannic Majesty's schooner, the *Prince Regent*. To secure a compliance on the part of the natives with the terms of the treaty concluded by Captain Laing, the commander of this vessel, Capt. M'Coy, permitted Midshipman Gordon and eleven sailors, belonging to the *Driver*, who nobly offered themselves to the service, to remain at the Colony until affairs should be finally adjusted.

The purposes of heaven are too dark and deep for the scrutiny of mortals ; they frustrate our best concerted measures, and frequently resign the noble-hearted to trials and death, on the very field of honourable and disinterested action. In the midst of his zealous efforts for the benefit of the Colony, Mr. Gordon was attacked by an inflammatory fever, which, on the 25th of December, terminated his life, and by the conclusion of the first

week in January, eight of his companions had shared the same fate.

“At the time of Mr. Gordon’s decease,” says Mr. Ashmun, “several vessels, two of which were armed cruizers, were lying at the Cape, and we were enabled on the following day, to pay our last respects to his remains by interring them, shrouded in the British flag, with the honours of war. The procession was composed of guards, a band of musicians, physician, clergyman, pall-bearers, carriers, and nearly every individual of the Colony who was able to walk to the grave. The whole was conducted with that decent solemnity, which bespoke the deep feeling of a large proportion of those who assisted on the occasion, for Mr. Gordon’s amiable qualities could not fail to recommend him to all his acquaintances. The language of the Society’s Agent, when communicating the intelligence of this melancholy event to Lieut. Rotheray, commander of his Britannic Majesty’s brig Snapper, is so pertinent, and accords so entirely with the feelings of the Board, that they beg leave here to introduce it. “To express the regret I feel, says this gentleman, that a measure so full of benevolence as the leaving this little force with us should have so disastrous an issue, it is superfluous to attempt, as I should but wrong my own feelings.”

“We have derived from the presence of these unfortunate men a great benefit ; it assisted in a powerful manner to allay the warlike spirit of the natives ; inspired a fresh spirit of resolution into our

people, and relieved them for nearly three weeks from a part of their almost insupportable burthens. I shall rest it, he continues, with the honour of my government, to make such an acknowledgment of the favours rendered by the officers and other agents of yours employed on this coast, as justice and a proper estimate of the beneficial influence of international favours, given and received, plainly dictate.”\*

Several children who had been taken captive from the settlement during the war, were, on the return of peace, immediately restored. An advantageous trade was commenced with the tribes in the interior, and before the arrival of the Oswego, the condition of the Colony was evidently improved. The United States’ sloop of war, *Cyane*, Capt. Spence, had been at the Colony in the month of April, and her officers and crew left there the monuments of their zealous and persevering exertions. It is impossible to estimate too highly the services of Capt. Spence and his generous companions. When informed of the sufferings of the Colony, they immediately repaired to Sierra Leone, fitted for sea the schooner *Augusta*, belonging to the United States, and hastening to the Colony, offered it most cheerfully, every aid in their power. Though the cruize of the *Cyane* had been already protracted in an unhealthy climate, Capt. Spence resolved without hesitation to remain so long on the coast as should be necessary to complete a work of defence, and make suitable provision for the approaching rains. He furnished the Colony with supplies and ammunition, built a

\* Appendix, paper marked B.

house for the Agent, and erected a tower of strong mason work, which, though somewhat injured by the subsequent rains, will, it is believed, prove an entire defence against the barbarians. Having nearly accomplished his designs, this efficient officer was interrupted in his exertions by the sickness of his crew, increased, no doubt, by the burning sun of that climate, and he was compelled to leave the Colony on the 15th of April.

The benevolence and zeal of Capt. Spence on this occasion, are the more striking, from the circumstance of his labouring under great debility from a fever contracted during a cruize of several months previous in the West Indies.

Determined, however, to neglect nothing, which might contribute to the results expected by government from an agency on the African coast, Capt. Spence instructed Lieut. Dashiell to take command of the *Augusta*, with a crew of six white and six coloured men, and to cruize in the vicinity of the Colony, for the purpose of at once subserving its interests and aiding in the suppression of the slave trade.

The Board deeply regret to say that Lieutenant Dashiell died at Sierra Leone, on the 22d of June. This mournful event has deprived the navy of an able officer, and the church of a distinguished christian. Midshipman R. R. M'Mullin succeeded him in the command of the *Augusta*, which is still on the coast of Africa.\*

The duties of the agency being found very ardu-

\* Appendix, paper marked C.

ous, Mr. Richard Seton, first clerk of the Cyane, highly recommended by Capt. Spence, consented to remain for a season at the Colony, and assist in a work evidently too great for a single individual. His services, though valuable, were short; a violent fever soon reduced him to extreme weakness, he lingered for some months and died in the Oswego on his return to the United States. If it is glorious to die for one's country, surely those who fall while aiding the cause of humanity, liberty, virtue, in a distant land, fall nobly, and deserve a grateful and lasting remembrance.

Since the arrival of Dr. Ayres, the number of buildings at the Colony has been considerably increased; certain irregular habits among the younger emigrants corrected; and a system of government adopted, which promises to exert an efficient and most salutary influence. The division of the land in the vicinity of the settlement, among the several families, has before this, no doubt, been effected, as Dr. Ayres observes in his last communication, "I have fixed upon the 1st of November for the time when all rations will cease to be delivered except to invalids." Such a division must minister every encouragement to industry, the great promoter of virtue, peace, and universal prosperity.\*

The evidences of public favour which the Board have received during the year, have afforded the highest encouragement, and they can no longer doubt that a general knowledge of their plans will be succeeded by the common and vigorous efforts

\* Appendix, papers A also D.

of the country to execute them, and that the design of the Colonization Society, notwithstanding the opposition it has experienced, will yet be consummated by the combined energies of a nation, and approved by the civilized world. A thousand powerful minds scattered throughout the Union, are at work for this institution; the objects which it is intended to promote are every where becoming subjects of thought and conversation, and the spirit of deep concern for its result is rapidly extending, securing to it the counsels of wisdom, the donations of wealth, and the prayers of religion.

During the spring, the Society for Inquiry concerning Missions in the Theological Seminary at Andover, thought proper to make the Colonization Society a subject for investigation. A committee appointed for the purpose prepared a report comprising the principal facts in the history of our Society, and presenting what was deemed a fair view of its claims to patronage. This report was written with great ability, and produced uncommon excitement. When presented, there was a unanimous and heartfelt expression of regard for the cause of the Colonization Society, and a resolution adopted to appeal to the public in its behalf. That this might be done with the greatest advantage, two gentlemen were requested to proceed to Washington and confer with the Members of the Board. They were accordingly present at a meeting in June, and the Board received from them much important intelligence, as well as several suggestions deserving very serious consideration.

During the deliberations at this time, the Board resolved to represent, without delay, in a publick address, the necessity for an immediate augmentation of their funds ;\* to appoint agents in different states to solicit contributions and form auxiliary societies ; to issue a prospectus of a periodical work to be published under the direction of the Board whenever the number of subscribers should be adequate to its support ; and to leave neglected no possible means of increasing the numbers and resources of the Colony before the return of the rainy season.

The Rev. Chester Wright, of Montpelier, Vt. one of the earliest and most efficient friends to the Society, kindly consented to accept a commission of agency for a few weeks in New-England, and though many obstacles were thrown in his way, his indefatigable exertions have greatly advanced the cause. Assisted by the Rev. Leonard Bacon, a young gentleman to whom the Board are greatly indebted for an able review\* of their Reports, first published in the Christian Spectator, and since copied into various periodical works, the efforts of Mr. Wright have excited an interest in the northern churches, which, the Board trust, will be permanent. The recent donation from the Vermont Society, proves that the Board may expect most important assistance from New-England.

In the state of New-York, the Rev. Loring D. Dewey has performed, with distinguished zeal and activity, for some months, the duties of agent, and by his unremitting endeavours, effected the establish-

\* Appendix, papers marked B. also appendix, E.



ment of several auxiliary societies. An association of this kind in New-York city, which has existed for several years, seems to have experienced a re-animating influence, and in their recent report the managers record with pleasure "their firm and unalterable conviction in favour of the great cause in which they are enlisted." They believe it to be a project not only practicable, but pregnant with the greatest blessings to humanity.\*

From the report of the Rev. Wm. M'Kenney, recently employed as agent for three months in Delaware and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, the Board conclude that the opinions and sentiments entertained by the most enlightened people in those places, are decidedly favourable to their object. Though compelled by severe illness to desist for some weeks from his exertions, Mr. M'Kenney has presented the plans of the Colonization Society to the consideration of many intelligent men, appealed to the churches for aid, assisted in the formation of several auxiliary institutions, and thus rendered important services to the general cause. Mr. M'Kenney every where received the kindest attention, and was assured by the distinguished men, that on their part nothing should be neglected which might be calculated to cherish or extend the flame which he had kindled, or by the adoption of measures for general and systematic collections, minister aid to the great enterprise in which the Society is engaged.\*

The recent formation of auxiliary societies in

Richmond, Petersburg, and Portsmouth, Virginia; the eminent names enrolled among their members; the liberal donations already transmitted; and the deep interest expressed in the operations of the parent Society, are circumstances recorded by the Board with peculiar pleasure, not only as important immediate benefits, but as auspicious omens of far greater good.

Three very respectable societies have also been organized in this District, and promise considerable aid to the parent institution. To whom, indeed, can the Board look for support, at times when unexpected, immediate, and energetic action is demanded, and of course, when no assistance can be derived from distant friends, unless to those in their vicinity who have professed their regard for the Society; who are almost necessarily acquainted with its difficulties, and can inspect all its operations.

And why may not similar auxiliary institutions be formed in most of the counties and towns throughout the Union? Two or three individuals, possessed of zeal, industry, and perseverance in any degree like that which the cause merits, would, it is believed, seldom make an attempt to concentrate opinion, and collect donations in their neighbourhood in aid of the parent Society without success.

At the session of the Synod of North-Carolina, held in Fayetteville in September last, it was resolved "to recommend to each of its ministers to take such measures as might be necessary during

the ensuing year, for informing himself respecting the origin, progress, and present state of the Colonization Society, and respecting its transactions to the present date, and to take occasion to preach one discourse, at least, to his congregations, in the course of the year upon this important subject." This resolution was received without a dissenting voice. Resolutions expressing the most cordial approbation of the design of our Society, were, about this time, unanimously adopted by the synod of Philadelphia and Virginia. The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal churches, the General Baptist Convention, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian churches have, it is well known, given their sanction to the enterprise of the Board. The Board cannot record these honourable and auspicious movements among the ministers of religion, without devout acknowledgments to their great Benefactor, and an earnest prayer for his future benediction.

Nothing, surely, could afford the Board more sincere gratification, than to be able in the prosecution of their design, to assist, in a manner and degree, however humble, the benevolent and magnanimous intentions of the national government towards such Africans as may be imported into the country in contravention to the laws, and the belief that they may have contributed in any measure to the utility of the governmental agency on the African coast, is a powerful motive for future and undiminished exertion. And here, the Board beg leave to introduce from the January number of the North American

Review, from the pen of the Rev. Jared Sparks, an entire account of certain captured Africans who have been recently transported to the Colony under the protection of the United States. Those who would see a concise history of the progress, and a lucid exposition of the views of the Colonization Society, will find the whole article worthy an attentive perusal.

“Some weeks ago,” says the writer, “a vessel came into the harbour of Baltimore, which from various circumstances was thought to have negroes unlawfully detained on board. So strong was the ground of suspicion, that a few individuals took on themselves the responsibility of searching the vessel, and they found concealed eleven negroes, who were foreigners, incapable of speaking or understanding the English language. A prosecution was accordingly entered against the captain as being engaged in the slave-trade; but as he affirmed, that the negroes were his own property lawfully acquired, and no proof to the contrary could be adduced, he was acquitted. The law demands that in all doubtful claims to the property of slaves, the labour of proof shall rest with the claimant, and as the captain in the present case could produce no such proof, the negroes were detained by the court, although he was permitted to escape. Through the humanity of some of the active members of the Colonization Society,\* these negroes were provided for by being distributed among several families in the neighbourhood of Baltimore, to remain till they should learn

\* Appendix I, No. 2.

the language and be able to express their wishes in regard to their future destination.

“Fortunately, about this time, a young African by the name of Wilkinson, a native of the Susoo country on the Rio Pongas, arrived in Baltimore. Some years ago, a chief of the Susoo’s entrusted two of his sons to the care of the captain of a French vessel, trading in the Rio Pongas, who promised to take them to the West Indies, have them educated, and return them at the end of four years. When the stipulated time had gone by, and nothing was heard of the boys, Wilkinson was despatched to the West Indies to search them out; he succeeded in finding them, but had the mortification to learn that the treacherous captain had not been true to his word; he had deserted the boys, and they were turned over to work with the slaves. Wilkinson recovered them, however, without difficulty, sent them to their father, and came himself to Baltimore to take passage home in the Colonization Packet. He had already been several years in England, and spoke our language with fluency. Soon after his arrival he visited some of the recaptured Africans just mentioned, and discovered that they came from the region bordering on his own country, and spoke a dialect which he well understood, although it was not his native Susoo tongue. They were overjoyed at seeing a person with whom they could converse, but were incredulous when he told them that they were free, and might return home if they chose. They said he was deceiving them, that they knew

they were slaves, and should never again see their native land, their relatives and friends ; so thoroughly were they impressed with the melancholy conviction of being in slavery, that no protestations could make them believe in his entire sincerity. They exclaimed with raptures at the thought of freedom, and of going back to Africa, but would not hope that such a dream could ever be realized. The situation of these persons was made known by the Colonization Society to the President of the United States, who said, that if proper certificates were given of their desire to return, the government would pay the expense of transportation. The navy agent at Baltimore was ordered to have them examined. They were brought together for that purpose, and as the examination could only be carried on through Wilkinson as interpreter, he gave his testimony under oath. We shall speak of this interesting examination nearly in the words of Mr. Coale, secretary of the Baltimore auxiliary society, who was present and took an account of the proceedings in writing. The general question was put to them severally, whether they wished to remain in this country as freemen, or be sent to Montserado, and thence if practicable to their homes ; Dowrey was the first who was called to answer. He was a chief in his own country, of whom Wilkinson had some knowledge ; he replied, " I wish to go home, I wish to see my father, my wife, and children ; I have been at Montserado, I live but three day's walk from that place." Barterou answered, " Let me

go home, I have a wife, I have two children, I live a morning's walk from Dowrey." The next person called was Mousah, the son of a highly respectable chief, with whom Wilkinson was personally acquainted ; he had been living with Gen. Harper, and when asked if he was not disposed to remain and be instructed, and go home hereafter and teach his countrymen, he replied ; "General Harper is a good man, he will give me clothes and food, and be kind to me, but he cannot give me my wife and children." When the general question was put to Cubangerie, he replied ; "Why do you ask this question over and over ? I am so rejoiced at the thoughts of returning, that I want words to express myself. Do you not know that nothing is so dear as a man's home ?" Mazzey said, "my mother is living, my father is living, I have two sisters, I shall be grateful to those who send me to my family and friends." The answer of Fanghah was, "I shall be joyful to go home, I have a father, mother, wife, sister, and three children to meet me in my own country." Corree said that all he desired was to be landed in Africa, and he should soon find his way home. Banhah made nearly the same reply.

"After these eight persons were examined, they expressed great anxiety to be joined by two of their companions not present. These had been placed with a man, who, it seems, was not willing to part with them, and had reported that they wished to remain. This proved a false pretence set up with a view to profit by the labour of the negroes ; and

whatever may be the power of the law in such a case, it will be difficult to make it appear in the eye of justice, in any better light than the crime of being engaged in the slave-trade. A writ on a fictitious suit was taken out against the negroes, and they were thus released from thralldom and brought to the place of examination. When they arrived, their companions sprang with extacies to meet them, embraced them again and again, caught them in their arms, raised them from the ground, and continued for half an hour at intervals to embrace and shake them by the hand. Nothing could exceed their joy at being told that they were free, and would sail in a day or two for Africa.

“These ten persons thus providentially rescued from perpetual slavery, and made happy in the anticipations of again beholding their native land, and of carrying gladness to many a weeping disconsolate heart, owed their deliverance chiefly to the Colonization Society. They have gone home to prove to their countrymen and friends, that white men are not all barbarians, traffickers in human flesh, and artificers of human misery ; but that the flame of benevolent feeling may sometimes kindle and burn even in the breasts of this portion of their race whom they had hitherto known only as catchers of their own species, and workers in crime.

“We know not the spring of other men’s joys, but as for ourselves, call it weakness or enthusiasm, or what you will, we frankly confess, that the heartfelt delight of having been instrumental in restoring



these men to freedom and happiness, would have been to us a double compensation for all the embarrassments, rebuffs, and obstacles, numerous and severe as they have been, which the members of the Society have thus far experienced. Had they brought to pass from the beginning only this one deed, we would lift up our voice in praise of their noble achievement and say they had been blessed with a good reward. These rescued Africans, full of gratitude to their deliverers, sailed with Wilkinson in the *Fidelity*, for Montserado, in October last ; Dr. Ayres had directions to send them home as soon as they arrived."

The Board rejoice to say, that the slave-trade seems to have been less extensively carried on during the last year, and to express their belief, that few American citizens now share in the gains of this atrocious traffick. The earnestness and decision evinced by the government of the United States in its efforts to abolish this cruel trade ; the opprobrium and punishment attached by Congress to a violation of its enactments on this subject ; particularly, its recent determination to consider such violation piracy, and to neglect no reasonable means of detecting transgressors, have almost, if not entirely, restrained this traffick under the American flag, and promise to exert a benign and powerful influence upon the laws of the whole civilized world.

The encouragement given to the publication proposed by the Board, is at present insufficient to

justify its appearance, though from the communications of their friends, the Managers are induced to hope, that they shall soon be enabled to commence it. The character of this work must depend in no inconsiderable degree upon information derived from the Colony, and to render it worthy of general patronage, a regular and frequent correspondence with the Agent there, will be indispensable. Inter-course with the Colony has already been greatly facilitated by the establishment of a trading company in Baltimore, and the Board are happy to state that the arrangements now making by government, to guard the African coast, by vessels to succeed each other in cruizes of short duration, will probably afford the means of easy, frequent, and safe communication.

A large number of the free people of colour have the last year sought the patronage of the Board, and the disposition to emigrate to Africa seems coextensive with a knowledge of the motives to induce such emigration. It were easy to excite enthusiasm on this subject, but the Board do *not desire* it. The means will never equal the demand for transportation.

The resolution adopted by the Board in the month of June, to increase, if possible, the strength of the Colony during the present season, has not been neglected. By incessant effort such means have been obtained, as, though not equal to the expense necessarily incurred, have induced the Board to charter a vessel; and they are happy to announce

the departure of the ship *Cyrus*, on the tenth of last month, with more than one hundred emigrants. These people were all from Petersburg, Richmond, and the lower country of Virginia. Most of them were, it is believed, inferior in intelligence, industry, and morality, to none of their class in the country. Among these is the Rev. Colston M. Waring, a respectable coloured preacher, who, after having visited the Colony, now returns with his wife and children, and a considerable number of his pious and affectionate flock. May the benediction of heaven attend them; may the purity of their lives recommend christianity to barbarians; may religion console them amid all the discouragements of their work.

The Board state with pleasure that the expence of transportation to Africa is far less than has been supposed. One hundred emigrants have been taken out in the *Cyrus*, liberally supplied with provisions for twenty-six hundred dollars, making the cost of each individual twenty-six dollars. Even this sum will, the Board are convinced, suffer a very considerable reduction when the resources of the Colony shall be so augmented as to allow of the simultaneous arrival of larger reinforcements.

In conclusion, the Board venture to express the hope, that the time is not remote, when the hearts of all the people in this country shall be set as the heart of one man, to advance the cause of colonization; when the state governments and even Congress\* shall bring its mighty power to the execution

\* Paper H.

of a plan, which the Society most earnestly, but in weakness, endeavours to promote ; a plan, fraught with the richest benefits for a suffering and degraded people, most intimately, essentially connected, with the wealth, strength, and glory of our country.

In our national constitution, young and vigorous as it is, there exists a disease, growing with our growth and strengthening with our strength, which, unless remedied, will ruin us, possibly by slow decay, probably by sudden violence. Loudly, then, as by an Angel's voice, are we called upon to awake, and before age has fixed our habits, and the poison become mingled in the fount of life, make those exertions, which may secure perpetual strength, purchase immortal glory, and save us from terrors, darkening as we advance, which invest the future with clouds of mysterious and tremendous calamity. Whatever may be the fate of their cause, trusting in God, the Board will persevere ; for, in the prosecution of an enterprise, promising such benevolent such splendid results, they seek no higher praise than that of having exhibited the spirit ascribed by the poet to the stern and unconquerable Roman,

*Cuncta terrarum subacta*

*Præter atrocem animum Catonis.*

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Since the above Report was penned, Dr. Ayres has arrived in this country. His statements are such as to afford the strongest encouragement to the friends of our Society ;\* indeed, the question whether

\* Paper J,

a Colony can be established in Africa, seems to be decided in the affirmative.\* The emigrants were left in the enjoyment of good health, and had commenced the cultivation of their grounds. Constant attention, until very recently, to works of defence, has prevented any very considerable improvements; yet, as the Colony is now considered secure from the power of the natives, we may expect its prosperity rapidly to advance. It must, however, for some time longer, depend in part for a subsistence upon the charities of this country. Vegetables and corn will probably soon be raised in abundance, but the articles of meat and clothing must for one or two years be received from the United States. Supplies for the Colony are at this time demanded. The Board of Managers appeal to their friends for aid. Those who have confided in the generosity of the Society, must not be abandoned. The several auxiliary societies are most earnestly requested to transmit immediately such funds as they may possess, or as they may find it possible to obtain. May the liberality of the American people correspond to the greatness of the cause.

## DR.

*The American Colonization Society in Account with Richard Smith, Treasurer thereof.*

1822.			
April	20,	To cash paid J. Ashmun.....	\$100 00
May	18,	Ditto J. Gideon, Jr....	9 00
	22,	Ditto J. Ashmun's draft.....	200 00
		Ditto do. ....	45 00
	25,	Ditto do. ....	100 00
June	11,	Ditto R. R. Gurley.....	150 00
	24,	Ditto Davis and Force.....	321 25
Oct.	25,	Ditto H. Payson, & Co.....	117 50
1823.			
Jan.	15,	Ditto R. R. Gurley.....	11 00
			<hr/>
			\$ 1,053 55
Balance in hand			2,249 87
			<hr/>
			\$3,303 42
			<hr/> <hr/>

*Supra CR.*

1822.			
Mar.	22,	By balance per account rendered.....	2,525 16
April	30,	Mrs. Janet Lingau.....	10 00
May	7,	Auxiliary Society, Newburyport, per B. Bannister, Treasurer.....	61 00
Nov.	4,	Ditto Fred. county, Va. pr. O. Waite, Tr...	300 00
	13,	Ditto Jackson county, Ga. per W. Pentecost, Treasurer.....	40 00
1823.			
Jan.	6,	Ditto Norfolk, Va.....	100 00
		John Chew for the following persons, viz.	
		Miss Mercer.....	5
		Ch. Austin.....	3
		Joseph Waller.....	1
		Hor. Buckner.....	1
		Jac. Stares.....	1
		Edmund Taylor.....	5
			<hr/>
			16 00
Feb.	12,	Auxiliary Society of Jefferson county, Va. per W. Brown, Treasurer.....	55 00
	14,	J — of Alexandria.....	10 00
	15,	Auxiliary Society of Frederick county, Va. O. Waite, Treasurer.....	150 00
	19,	Mr. Withers.....	5 00
		Mrs. J. Withers.....	5 00
		Mrs. E. Withers.....	5 00
		A Lady.....	1 50
		The charity box of a young lady of the District.....	8 00
		Ditto of another do. 10 years old.....	6 76
		Rev. Asa Meade, Brunswick, Maine 1st marriage fee.....	5 00
			<hr/>
			\$3,303 42
			<hr/> <hr/>

## DR.

*The American Colonization Society in Account with Richard Smith, Treasurer.*

1823.

March	26,	To R. R. Gurley's account to J. M'Fadon for freight of brig Oswego.....	\$1,000 10
		Cash paid R. R. Gurley.....	20 00
	31,	Ditto do. do. ....	55 00
April	14,	Loss on North-Carolina notes.....	10 64
	12,	Cash paid R. R. Gurley.....	200 00
		Ditto do. do. ....	600 00
	16,	Ditto do. do. ....	50 39
May	1,	Ditto do. do. draft to Bradford & Cook.....	29 65
	15,	Ditto do. do. E. J. Coale.....	3 00
	31,	Ditto do. do. ....	20 00
June	11,	Ditto do. I. King, jr. and T. Tyson..	237 50
		Ditto do. do. ....	212 83
August	5,	Ditto do. J. Ashmun jr's draft .....	195 00
		Ditto do. Divie Bethune, & Co.....	107 47
Sept.	6,	Ditto do. M'Fadon and Harris.....	1,000 00
	19,	Ditto do. W. M'Kenney.....	75 00
	20,	Ditto do. King and Tyson.....	52 50
		Ditto do. R. R. Gurley, salary.....	200 00
October	3,	Ditto do. do. ....	100 00
	14,	Ditto do. do. ....	60 00
		Ditto do. Kinchy for books.....	6 00
Nov.	14,	Ditto do. J. Ashmun.....	50 00
		Ditto do. Mrs. C. A. M'Kenney....	12 00
Dec.	19,	Ditto do. R. R. Gurley.....	60 00
	31,	Ditto do. do. ....	550 00
		Ditto do. Davis and Force.....	234 87

1824.

Jan.	5,	Ditto do. R. R. Gurley.....	1,000 00
	7,	Ditto do. do. ....	20 00
		Ditto do. do. ....	476 25
	9,	Ditto do. do. ....	50 00
		Ditto do. loss on Vermont notes....	3 05
	16,	Ditto do. John Stettenius.....	21 07

		Amount	6,739 22
Feb.	13,	To balance on hand.....	281 72
			<hr/>
			\$7,020 94

N. B. Of the above balance, \$29 are counterfeit notes.

## Supra CR.

1823.

Feb.	28,	By balance in hand per account rendered.....	2,249 87
March	10,	Cash from P. E. Thomas, on account of the Rockingham Auxiliary Society.....	45 00
	27,	Ditto Mrs. Mary I. Thomas, of Va. per F. S. Key.....	20 00
		Ditto Jon. Pinkney, Treasurer of the Auxiliary Society of Annapolis.....	6 00

March	27,	Cash from Gabriel Duvall, subscriber for 1821 and 1822.....	\$10 00
	28,	Ditto W. B. Bannister, Treasurer Aux. Soc. Newburyport, pr. J. Nelson..	50 00
	31,	Ditto R. R. Gurley for his collections in Philadelphia, viz.	
		From R. Ralston.....	10
		Mrs. Mary Carswell.....	5
		Mrs. Mary A. Ely.....	5
		Lemuel Lamb.....	5
		Alexander Henry.....	10
		Cash.....	5
		Bishop White.....	5
		Ch. Chauncey.....	5
		J. J. Janeway.....	5
			— 55 00
		Ditto Robert Ralston balance of collections	122 10
		Ditto A donation from ladies in Frederick county.....	10 00
		Ditto From M'Dupree, Treasur. Aux. Soc. in Raleigh, N. C.....	130 00
April	4,	Ditto R. R. Gurley, collections in Alexa..	110 00
		Ditto do. do. in Georgetown.....	35 00
		Ditto do. do. from various sources	25 14
	14,	Ditto John Gray of Fredericksburg.....	50 00
	18,	Ditto Auxiliary Society, Frederick county, Va. per Rev. Mr. Meade.....	100 00
	23,	Ditto Mrs. E. Murdock of Fredericktown..	30 00
	28,	Ditto Joseph Avery of Conway, Mass.....	10 00
May	30,	Ditto Vermont Aux. Society, per C. Wright	100 00
July	16,	Ditto Frederick county, Va. do. per Rev. Mr. Meade. proceeds 5 Hds. Tob.	185 08
	28,	Ditto Putnam, Geo. do. by W. Turner....	50 00
August	7,	Ditto H. Hill, from Rev. L. L. Barstow for collection in Keene, N. H. 4 July	16 25
	8,	Ditto Joseph Cowan, Staunton, Va.....	5 00
		Ditto Rev. Alvan Hyde, collections in Lee, Mass. 4 July.....	6 00
		Ditto Rev. N. Willis, collections in Park-Street Church, Boston, 4 July....	80 00
August	11,	Ditto From Massachusetts Society to aid in the suppression of the slave-trade	500 00
	14,	Ditto A lawyer at Orrill, N. Y. the balance of costs in a suit between 2 col. men	3 00
	27,	Ditto H. Malcom, Hudson, N. Y. collection on 4 July, without previous notice	5 00
Sept.	11,	Ditto Platt Stout, Cor. Sec. of Aux. Soc. Maysville, Ken.....	20 00
	15,	Ditto Chris. E. Gadsden, Charleston, S. C.	50 00
	25,	Ditto H. Doyle, Tr. Aux. Soc. Fred. co. Md.	200 00
		Ditto Nath. Burwell, Va. per J. Von Rieser	200 00
		Ditto Mary Peters, Newhaven, of which \$7 70 were a donation of her pupils	15 00
		Ditto F. Anderson, Hagerstown, from himself and 2 friends of the Society...	10 00
Nov.	7,	Ditto Mary Dean, of New-Hampshire....	30 00



Nov.	7,	Cash from N. Willis, of Boston, per D. C.....	\$2 00
	10,	Ditto E. Worrell, Tr. Aux. Soc. Wilm. Del.	50 00
	15,	Ditto Mrs. Sarah Charles, of Morris, N. J.	1 00
		Ditto Sarah Canfield, of do.....	1 50
		Ditto Robert Finley, of Baskinridge, do...	2 50
	19,	Ditto Donation from the Dedham, Mass. Female Society for educating Hea- then Youth.....	40 00
		Ditto An advance by said Soc. for educating 2 col. youth at Cape Montserado	40 00
	24,	Ditto From Miss. Sarah Black, on account of the Fem. Aux. Soc. Wilm. Del.	20 00
	26,	Ditto J. M. Smith, Schenectady, N. York	6 00
Dec.	1,	Ditto Neaham L. Washington, of Va. sub.	20 00
	2,	Ditto Mary L. Custis, of Georgetown.....	5 00
		Ditto Bushrod Washington.....	100 00
		Ditto L. D. Dennis, President, N. York....	100 00
	6,	Ditto J. Marshall, Tr. Aux. Soc. Richmond	450 00
	8,	Ditto Rev. Hor. Gilpin, Lannington, N. J.	3 00
	17,	Ditto Miss Eliz. Stewart, contents of a cha- rity box.....	16 00
		Ditto From a friend.....	50
		Ditto J. W. Ross collected from the Presb. Congregation, Chambersburg, Pa.	5 00
	18,	Ditto Jedutham Loomis, Treas. Vermont Auxiliary Society.....	355 00
	19,	Ditto Miss A. Stewart.....	5 00
		Ditto Rev. D. Asherman, Knoxville, Ten.	5 00
		Ditto Rev. R. Post, of Washington, collect- ed at monthly concerts for prayer	14 00
Dec.	31,	Ditto Gabriel P. Disoway, Tr. Aux. Soc. Petersburg, Va.....	550 00
1824.			
Jan.	7,	Ditto B. — New-York.....	5 00
		Ditto Anson Brook, Treasurer Aux. Soc. Portsmouth, Va.....	62 00
	13,	Ditto Rev. Ch. H. Page of Charleston, Va. for col. by the Rev. Mr. Hawley..	15 00
	14,	Ditto Obed. Waite, Tr. Aux. Soc. Fred- erick county, Va.....	275 00
	29,	Ditto Aux. Soc. Queen Ann co. Maryland, per William M'Kenney.....	100 00
Feb.	5,	Ditto Hon. D. Garrison, amount collected in the Rev. George W. Jauvier's church, Salem, N. Jersey.....	5 00
		Ditto E. B. Caldwell, amount collected in the church of Rev. Jos. Caldwell, Chapell Hill, N. C.....	10 00
	7,	Ditto Rev. Ch. Hyde, of Doylestown, Pa. amount collected in his church....	10 00
	12,	Ditto J. M'Phail, Tr. Aux. Soc. Norfolk..	200 00
	21,	Ditto Rev. R. R. Gurley, for collections at the gen. meeting in the Capitol	16 00

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7,020 94

DR.

## The American Colonization Society in Account with R. R. Gurley, Agent,

CR.

1822.	To amount of expenses incurred in New-England in 1822.....	180 00
Dec. 16,	Cash paid E. B. Caldwell, collections made for Society.....	130 00
1823.	Ditto paid for supplies for colonists in the Oswego per abstract, &c.....	1,079 85
Mar. 24,	Ditto John M'Fadon on account of freight of Oswego.....	1,000 00
	Ditto Richard Smith, Treasurer, per account....	347 24
	Ditto contingent expenses per abstract, &c.....	54 24
	Ditto supplies for colonists in the Cyrus per abstract, &c.....	693 63
	Ditto Geo. Delius on account freight of Cyrus, &c.	1,003 25
	Ditto E. I. Coale supplies for colonists by the Fidelity	100 00
1824.	R. R. Gurley's account for travelling and other contingent expenses.....	189 72
Jan. 1,	One year's salary due this day.....	600 00
March 1,	Balance in hands of the Agent.....	61 46

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5,439 39

1822.	By amount collected in New-England in 1822...	241 13
June 11,	Cash received from R. Smith, Treasurer,....	150 00
1823.		
Jan. 14,	Ditto do.....	11 00
	Collections made in Philadelphia.....	55 00
	Cash received of Mr. Ralston of Philadelphia....	122 10
	Donations and subscriptions received.....	338 87
Mar. 24,	Draft on R. Smith, Tr. in favour of Mr. M'Fadon	1,000 00
26,	Cash received from do.....	20 00
31,	Ditto do. do.....	55 00
April 10,	Draft do. favour of E. I. Coale.....	600 00
11,	Ditto do. do.....	200 00
12,	Ditto do. I. Stone.....	50 39
14,	Ditto do. Bradford and Coale.....	29 65
May 15,	Ditto do. E. and J. Coale.....	30 00
	Cash do. ....	20 00
Sep. 20,	Ditto do. ....	200 00
Oct. 3,	Draft do. do. favour of E. J. Coale....	100 00
13,	Ditto do. ....	60 00
Dec. 19,	Cash do. ....	60 00
25,	Draft do. ....	50 00
27,	Ditto do. favour of J. M'Phail.....	550 00

1824.		
Jan. 13,	Ditto do. do.....J. Delius.....	1,000 00
7,	Cash received.....	20 00
Feb. 14,	Ditto do. for payment of bills.....	476 25

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Dolls. 5,439 39

1824.		
Mar. 1,	By balance.....	61 46

Washington, 8th March, 1824. By authority vested in us by a resolution of the Board of Managers, we sanction the above account, having examined the same and found it correct.

JOSEPH GALES, JR. JOHN UNDERWOOD.

# APPENDIX.

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## PAPER A.

*Papers containing Correspondence of Captain Robert T. Spence, Dr. Eli Ayres, and J. Ashmun, relating to the Establishment at Cape Montserado.*

*Mr. Ashmun, acting Agent at Cape Montserado, to the Secretary of the Navy.*

Cape Montserado, November 26th, 1822, (morning.)

SIR : I had the honour of writing you by the Shark, on the 9th ultimo, and, subsequently, by the "Strong," in a very weak and sickly condition. We are now engaged in a bloody and perilous war with all the native tribes around us. On the morning of the 11th, were attacked by eight hundred, who were repulsed, after doing us some injury, with the loss of nearly one hundred killed on the spot.

Subsequently, we have been employed in a negotiation for peace, which I fear will fail. We expect another assault to be made on us in two or three days. The force is powerful in numbers, poorly armed, and cowardly. We hope, with God's help, to hold out till aid arrives from some quarter. Now, if a vessel of war lay in the road, all these hostile movements would probably have been prevented.

The spirits and health of our little number are much better than could be expected. We have six guns mounted on our lines, which we have supported by a musket shot-proof barricade. We have so constructed them as to include only about two-thirds of the town, the families without retiring within.

I am nearly reinstated in the enjoyment of health. We are obliged to increase our stock of provisions, ammunition, &c. by every vessel arriving in the road, provided she have them.

I have this day drawn on Mr. Beattie for \$272 10, and enclose you, sir, herewith, the bill of Captain Daily. We very much need an increase of our numbers ; men with *no*, or with *small*, families ; more hard shot, provisions and clothing, stone and other masons.

We can now, with difficulty, muster thirty men fit for duty. These are obliged to stand upon their arms night and day ; but, with a sufficient supply of good provisions and clothing, the habit will eventually set easy, and occasion no waste of constitutional vigour.

I shall endeavour to do my own duty, and make the people do theirs. Human weakness can reach no further. The two additional guns at Norfolk, twenty-five soldiers, and the fortifications spoken of in the preceding letter, (which, from the abundance of stone on the very ground, can soon be erected) in my opinion, would secure to us a peace as lasting and universal as could be desired ; while the people of the agency could pursue the work for which they came to Africa, and improvements in husbandry and the arts rapidly extend their influence in this part of Africa.

I have the honour, sir, to be, your most obedient servant,

J. ASHMUN,

*Acting Agent for liberated Africans.*

November 26th, (Evening.)

SIR : Our negotiation with our perfidious enemies seems to have entirely failed of its object. They are bent on our ruin. We can only resolve to stand, and wait assistances. The presence of *one* vessel of war would deter them forever from attacking the settlement. Ten additional labourers, with one or two well acquainted with stone-mason work, united with what assistance we could give them, would, in four weeks time, complete a tower, battery, and wall, which, I beg leave to repeat, would so entirely command the whole surrounding country, as to ensure here, as it has invariably done elsewhere, perpetual peace, or something very nearly resembling it. We have only had time to begin the labour ; and, while our people all lie on their arms nearly every night, never can finish it. Permit us, sir, in these circumstances, to hope for the aid asked, without being disappointed.

To aggravate our other losses, we have had seven of our children carried captive ; the oldest about twelve. We hear from them daily ; they appear to be as well treated as savage tenderness knows how to express itself towards them. According to a custom of the country, it may be confidently expected the children will be restored, of course, on the settlement of peace.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. A.

*Loss on the American side, in the engagement of the 11th.*

Killed, 1 man, 1 woman; mortally injured, and since dead, 1 man; desperately do. 1 woman and 1 man, by bursting his own musket; badly do. 2 men; slightly do. 1 woman; carried captive, 7 children. Whole number of sufferers, 15.

J. ASHMUN.

Hon. SMITH THOMPSON, Sec'ry Navy of the United States,

*Extract of a letter from J. Ashmun, Acting Agent of the United States for liberated Africans, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated*

American Agency, Cape Montserado, December 7th, 1823.

"In haste, I beg leave to inform you that, on Sunday morning last, the 2d, we sustained, with the loss of 1 killed and 2 badly wounded, a second attack of the natives; their numbers are rated at 1,500.

The Africans sent here by the government of the United States are all still unhurt, with the exception of the one wounded by the bursting of his own piece.

Our whole fighting force, including 10 of the African youths, is now 25. We have lost, in killed and wounded, in the actions of the 11th November, and 2d inst. 7 of our best men. We are at present reinforced by 13 men, marines, under the command of a Midshipman, belonging to his B. M. ship the *Driver*, provisioned for six weeks; and whose detention here, for that time, will cause no charge to the American government. A promising negotiation has been opened by Captain Laing, Bt. Lt. Infantry, passenger in the schooner "*Prince Regent*," from whom we obtained our men, and a moderate addition to our ammunition. No bill of it has been presented. It consists of

2 bbls. (100lbs. each) Cannon Powder.

28 do. 6 lb. Shot.

1000 Musket Balls, and

1 keg of Musket Cartridges.

But Captain Laing's exertions in negotiating a peace, and probably securing to us a *truce*, has laid the American government and Society under the greatest obligations. They positively refused to treat, freely, with an American; but promised, on penalty of the severest visitation, to abide by whatever terms the English, through Governor M'Carthy, shall prescribe. I had begun to treat with them often before, but, invariably, they violated their promises, and, finally, assured us they would die in the struggle, or destroy us; and fully convinced me that all overtures for peace were fruitless.

til they had suffered another repulse. This they have suffered, and, in this situation, Captain Laing found them. Be assured, sir, that British mediation shall extend, in this business, to no improper length, if I live, and have wisdom to judge correctly on the subject. The calling in of their aid I believe to have been absolutely necessary to our existence here 20 days longer, and the promptness with which it came, evinced it to be the dictate of friendship, and sensibility of feeling.

I can, sir, affirm, with confidence, that at least 2000 slaves are annually shipped from the Bay made by the projection of Capes Mount and Montserado ; an armed vessel stationed there, and 24 soldiers ashore, would divert the traffic at least to some other part of the coast, and greatly reduce its extent."

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*Extract of a letter from J. Ashmun to Capt. Spence, dated*

Cape Montserado, March 31, 1823.

SIR : Owing to the extraordinary reverses to which the establishment at this place, including an asylum for liberated captives, and a colony of free coloured people, from the United States, has been subjected ; and the circumstance of no vessel arriving from America with supplies, during this trying period ; we are reduced to the necessity of applying to you for such relief and supplies as our more urgent wants require, and your situation may enable you to furnish.

The absence of a small armed vessel from the roads of Montserado, certainly invited those aggressions of the native tribes, in consequence of which, all our improvements have been nearly suspended for several months, and the settlement surrounded with the horrors of a savage war.

A slight insight into the policy of these tribes, will discover that they never will venture to assail an establishment on shore, which has the support of even the most inconsiderable naval force. Your foresight has produced for us this important means of security, by repairing, manning, and allotting to the protection of the establishment, the schooner *Augusta* ; her presence at Montserado will likewise have a most salutary influence in checking the sale and transportation of slaves in the neighbourhood of the Cape.

These inhuman practices, I regret to state, are to the present hour continued here, without restraint or disguise. Permit me to suggest the propriety of an application to our government to have this vessel commissioned, to employ her force against such American vessels as may visit that part of the

coast included between the Capes Mount and Montserado. This service she might, in my opinion, render the cause of humanity, without the least detriment to that to which she is specifically appointed.

I have already had the honour to represent to our government my views, in relation not only to the utility, but the absolute necessity of an efficient and well constructed work of defence, both for our security against the insults and aggressions of the natives, and to add respectability to the establishment, in the estimation of foreigners. Since those representations were communicated, we have unhappily been able to add the corroborative testimony of experience to their truth and importance. The native tribes, lured on by the hopes of getting possession of our stores, and observing nothing formidable in our means of defence, have attempted, by the utmost exertion of their power, our extermination; and a ship of war was actually sent by the acting commander of a large naval force, employed on this coast, to erect a foreign flag in the midst of our settlement, and transfer the jurisdiction of the Cape and neighbouring coast, and the allegiance of our people, to his own government! To such insults and injuries the establishment must always consider to be liable while destitute of the work in question. A just regard to the character of the nation imperiously demands, in my opinion, that the agency which it has seen fit to establish on this coast, for the most benevolent of purposes, should enjoy such a protection. I am happy, sir, to perceive that, on this subject, your views perfectly accord with my own; and was prepared on your arrival to ask for a part of the aid, which, in anticipation of any request on my part, you, sir, so promptly offered from your ship, for the erection of a *permanent and powerful fortification*. The labour and expense which the entire completion of this work will require, must necessarily be considerable—but its utility will be still greater; and I have that confidence in the wisdom and liberality of our government, that I would cheerfully share any pecuniary responsibility incurred in its erection, although without the authority of a specific order.

Vitally connected with the welfare of the settlement, is the preservation of the lives, and, as far as possible, the health, of the agents of Government. Nothing will contribute more essentially this desirable end than a comfortable habitation; several valuable lives have been unquestionably sacrificed for want of this convenience, and, in alluding to this subject, the recollection of an irreparable personal loss, powerfully intrudes itself upon my feelings. The accompanying circumstances were distressing: a female, of most delicate constitution, lying

under the influence of a mortal fever, in the corner of a miserable hut, (to ventilate which in a proper manner was impossible,) on a couch literally dripping with water, which a roof of thatch was unable to exclude; recovery under such circumstances was impossible: and the mortal struggle almost brought relief to the agonised feelings of surviving friendship.

A due regard to the preservation of my own life, and that of my successors, determined me to erect a comfortable house for the residence of the agents; but destitute both of suitable materials and of good mechanics, I could hardly have effected my purpose without the aid, in both these respects, which has been received from the Cyane. Against the important advantages of having a commodious house erected at this time in the settlement, no judicious person will weigh the expenses incurred by the purchase of lumber, and the subsistence and pay of the workmen. The house is nearly completed, in a most airy situation, and commands one of the finest prospects in Western Africa.

The propriety of soliciting the aid of workmen from on board the ship under your command, will, I hope, Sir, be obvious, when I inform you, that, of our small company of labourers, consisting only of thirty individuals, seven of the very best were either killed, or entirely disabled, in our conflicts with the natives, and that, the want of mechanical skill aside, the remainder are, to the present hour, obliged to mount guard every second night. Without help from the ship, we must either have left these works unattempted or unfinished, or have accomplished them in a most rude and inappropriate style.

The other improvements, to which the industry of a number of your crew has been directed, are scarcely less important; and altogether will afford us that security against external annoyance, and those domestic accommodations, during a rainy season of several months continuance, which we could not otherwise have hoped to enjoy.

To R. T. SPENCE, Esq.

*Commanding U. Ship Cyane, off Montserado.*

*Extract of a letter from Capt. R. T. Spence to J. Ashmun.*

U. S. Ship Cyane, Western Africa, Montserado, 1st April, 1823.

SIR: Your communication of the 31st ult. I have had the honour to receive. Arriving on the coast of Africa after a long cruise in the West Indies, with my crew enfeebled by the heat of that climate, my own health in a precarious state, and that of some of my officers equally, I should have felt it my du-



ty to return, after a short tarry, immediately to the United States, had it not been for circumstances the most unexpected. Informed of your destitute situation, occasioned by the disasters of a war brought on by difficulties growing out of the nature of your settlement; moved by a sympathy and commiseration which suffering ought always to excite; wholly regardless of all personal sacrifice, I assumed a responsibility the emergency doubtless will justify; and, in anticipation of your requisition, provided such a supply of necessary subsistence as will enable you to go through the approaching rains without fear of famine—*thereby ensuring, I trust, your final success.*

The officers and crew of the Cyane have been engaged, day and night, in repairing, and getting in readiness for the service for which she will hereafter be applied, the schooner Augusta, found at Sierra Leone, deserted, and nearly destroyed. I shall leave her on the coast when I go hence, in a condition not less good than when first launched, with exception of her copper, which, however, will be sufficient for several years to come; she is placed in charge of a careful officer, well provided, and suitably armed. I promise myself that much good will result from her continued presence, and trust that your own expectations will be fully realized, from her remaining in the vicinity of the Cape.

It gives me great pleasure to contribute to your personal comfort; not so much to your comfort in accommodation, as to rescuing you from a hovel, which a continuance in would almost forbid a hope of your recovery; and which, from the Surgeon's report, I am induced to believe would ensure your death during the ensuing rainy season.

The tower I have commenced, I trust will prove to you a "tower of strength;" the impression it is calculated to make, the security it cannot fail to afford, will produce a two-fold operation; and be of infinite importance in many respects, all of which are too obvious to require exposition.

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Monrovia, June 18, 1823.

SIR: We arrived at Montserado on the 24th May, after a passage of thirty-two days from Cape-Henry. I find the Colonists have all been employed by Captain Spence, since his arrival here, on a fortification, which was not completed when I arrived. A few days after I arrived, about one-sixth part of wall tumbled to its base, and the rest has given way in every direction. I believe it will be less work to build a new one, than to repair the old. Previous to the attack of the natives, our people had got gardens enclosed, and vegetables flourish-

ing finely ; and, had it not been for this event, and they could have had a small part of their labour to bestow on their lots, they would have been amply prepared to have maintained themselves ; but, when the enemy came upon them, they were obliged to take up their garden fences to make a palisade of defence. Their gardens were all destroyed, and not so much as a hill of beans is growing in the colony. The rainy season has now fully commenced, and very little labour can be done until the next dry season, which will be in November.

This will make it necessary to continue the labourers at the public expense longer than I had contemplated in my former report, as I had expected a much more favourable state of affairs here.

One of the captured Africans was killed in the battle, and there is much jealousy of the natives against them, for fear of retaliation for their being sold.—I would therefore respectfully recommend to Government, not to send out any more captured Africans, until the requisite buildings can be erected, and a regular establishment made for them. Should it please God to restore my health and preserve my life, this will be accomplished in the dry season, and a regular system of management entered upon, when any number likely to be in the possession of Government could be managed. But, should I be called away by death, it would be highly dangerous, from the spirit which these have manifested, to multiply their number, without more efficient government being held over them than has been.

If it should please God to spare my life, I will endeavour to have the building erected early in the next season.

A fatality has attended every proceeding on this affair ; but, if I live, and am supported so I can stay here, I hope soon to alter matters, and set them on a better footing ; but, should any of the common casualties happen the trading company formed in Baltimore, that they should fail to comply with their contract, and I find myself neglected by both Government and Society, out of provisions, clothing, &c. I shall leave the place, and the cause, in despair.

The U. S. schooner *Augusta* has undergone a partial repair, but so slightly that she was thought to be hardly seaworthy ; But Mr. Dashiell, who was left in command of her, has ventured in her to Sierra Leone, to get some further repairs, to enable him to ride out the rains. He was in a very bad state of health. This system of repairing, out here, is very expensive, and is partially done, and poorly commanded and manned, as to be of no service to the colony. I beg leave to press, with the utmost urgency, as a security to the captured Africans, and the success of this cause, that Government keep here a vessel prudently commanded and well manned.

There is but one man who came out with me, but what is down with the fever. I was taken a week ago, and have not\* been able to see them since ; but they are all doing well. We have five deaths, most of them from foolish obstinacy. I hope the worst is over with me. I have got so I can sit up a few minutes at a time, in which way this letter is written. I have the honour to be, your most obedient, E. AYRES.

The Hon. SMITH THOMPSON,  
Secretary Navy U. S.

*Extract of a letter from Captain Robert T. Spence to the Secretary of the Navy, dated*

United States' Ship Cyane,  
Quarantine Ground, New-York, June 27, 1823.

"After an absence of twelve months from the United States, in the West Indies and on the coast of Africa, I have the honour to announce my arrival at this anchorage ; last from a cruise among the Windward Islands.

Up to the 24th March, on which day my latest communications were addressed to you from Sierra Leone, you have been made acquainted with my official proceedings. Under that date, I informed you of the precarious situation of the colony at Cape Montserado, and of my intention to take prompt and effectual steps for its rescue and preservation. The schooner *Augusta* having been speedily equipped and made ready for sea by the activity of my officers, and such supply of necessary articles as would relieve the immediate wants of the colonists taken on board, together with about forty Kroo men, (whose labour had been secured, free of any expense to the United States,) I proceeded without a moments delay to the settlement, examining with due care the intermediate coast.

On my anchoring, after a short passage, at Cape Montserado, I received from Mr. Ashmun, the resident agent, a letter (see p. 52,) which with other communications, hereto appended, disclose the indigent and distressed condition of the colony, and forcibly show that my arrival was not only most opportune, and my anticipation of their wants provident, but, in every respect, essential to their future safety and preservation. The presence of the ship at this critical juncture, appeared indeed providential : for, without the succour it was my good fortune to afford, every thing might have been apprehended. A renewal of war was in agitation among the

\*The word *not* is left out in the original, and inserted here, as it is apparent it should have been in the original.

hostile princes ; and, from all we could learn, and observe, the conclusion was unavoidable, that the entire extermination of the colonists must have been the consequence. The head men were in the highest degree exasperated, appearing in no manner inclined to be appeased ; declaring that they had never entertained a design of selling the Cape ; that they had been overreached ; that they never possessed a full understanding of the agreement, (or “book,”) and, finally, that they never had sold, and never would consent to give up, Cape Montserado, the abode of one of their ideal beings, of superstitious veneration !

Having made such provision for the maintenance of the “agency,” during the approaching inclement season of the “rains,” (nearly at hand,) and by a friendly intercourse and other means mollified, as far as practicable, the excited temper of the neighbouring chiefs ; having afforded all the aid to the establishment, which, under other circumstances, might have been deemed sufficient ; my own health much impaired, my purser’s wholly gone, and that of my officers by no means vigorous ; having also placed a suitable vessel in the immediate vicinity of the colony, a cautionary measure, which should not be relinquished ; I should have felt justified, considering the sickly season was about to set in, (particularly as the stores and supplies of the ship, from extraordinary calls, had become inadequate for a full expenditure for any length of time,) in leaving the coast for the United States : but, sir, I could not persuade myself to adopt this course, while much remained to be done for the security of a settlement, the object of which appears to be fraught with such benefits to our common country ; especially as your instructions enjoined on me to do every thing for the agent and colonists which they might require ; and it being the object of an officer to acquire the Government’s, rather than his own, approbation ; to which end, I was ready to encounter any hardship, and to make any sacrifice.

The cause alleged, on the part of the chiefs, for making war on the peaceable settlers at Montserado, is merged in the statement previously given : namely, their never having had any intention to sell the Cape, the spot consecrated to one of their deities, or beings of superstitious idolatry ; that collusion had been practised in the purchase ; that it was not a fair and fully explained contract, as they were ignorant of the paper they had signed ; with others equally absurd and fallacious, founded neither in reason or truth. Such, however, were the causes set forth by them, in the various interviews had with the officers of this ship, during our stay, for their inexcusable and unprovoked enmity. But other latent induce-

ments existed, far more operative, which doubtless formed the true, and only cause of hostilities, committed by them on an unoffending people. The most prominent of these may be discovered in the embarrassments thrown in the way of the slave traffick, by a contiguous active check, restraining, by its presence, a trade they never can willingly forego ; as, also, in the hope they entertained of being able to obtain, without risk or loss, the spoil and plunder of a successful war : for they had been led to believe, by emissaries sent among them by slave factors, that there would be much booty of stores, goods, &c. In these alluring hopes and prospects, at all times cogent with beings of their propensities and uncivilized habits, may be seen the leading motives for attacking the establishment at Cape Montserado.

Seeing these to have been their incitements ; apprehending their present inaction was merely a truce for more vigorous preparation ; finding that the chieftains were far from being inclined to abandon either their claims, or intentions, but waited only for a season better suited to further both ; convinced, also, that the defenceless condition of the colony invited aggression ; I determined, in despite of the plausible objections my own mind furnished to a longer continuance on the coast, to exert myself, during the short period I was permitted to remain, with a view of placing the settlement in the best possible state of defence. This wish became strengthened by information received from Dr. Dix, (whose friendly and social interviews with the Princes, enabled him to obtain much useful matter,) that another attempt on the colony was positively meditated, when the season inimical to the health of its defenders should set in ; that they were sanguine in the hopes of *then* accomplishing their object, by the combined operation of war, sickness, and famine. My determination, on this point, received also additional strength, from a perspective of the fatal consequences which would inevitably result from renewed incursions on the part of these barbarians ; while the means of security were inadequate to inspire confidence on the side of the assailed, or apprehension on the part of the assailants, expulsion was certain. The entire extermination of a remnant of colonists, who, confiding in promises made them previously to embarking, had consented to leave the happiest country in the world, to sojourn in the land of their forefathers, was not only possible, but too probable ; added to which, the loss of a footing, happily acquired, in a situation second to none on the whole line of coast, after leaving Sierra Leone, and the consequent extinction of all future prospect of ever being again able to effect an establishment at a place so eligible. on terms so advantageous to the Society.

and creditable to those who negotiated the purchase. A Martella Tower I conceived well suited to effect the object in view ; a fortress of this character was desirable on many accounts, nay, appeared indispensable, not only to the end of affording protection, and giving security in the hour of invasion, but as being also the best calculated to produce a change of policy on the part of the natives, and well suited to make such an impression, as would deter them from a renewal of aggression, and thereby prevent the calamitous consequences justly to be apprehended : at all events, the consequences of harassing and vexatious depredations. Again, I considered it expedient to make also a proper impression on the minds of foreigners, jealous of an establishment, whose continuance and prosperity threatens an annihilation of the Slave trade, in that particular section of country lying adjacent to the river Montserado : this, with me, was a consideration not without its influence. The foundation of the fortress being commenced, with the assistance of the Kroo-men, its progress was rapid ; alacrity gave animation and activity, and promised a speedy completion of a competent defence. In fifteen days, a circular massive work of stone, measuring one hundred and twelve feet in circumference, eight feet in thickness, and ten feet in elevation, was seen to tower above the surrounding heights, commanding the site for the town, and a wide range of the circumjacent country, capable of intercepting, by its position, any movement, made either within or without the bar of Montserado river. In my expectations I was not disappointed. During the time this work was progressing, I had frequent opportunities of discovering its effect in neutralizing, in no small degree, the menacing designs of the natives. Every day brought me additional proof of a change in their intentions, wrought by an amicable and conciliatory conduct, conjoined with preparations for defence—formidable to any eye, but with them, to all appearance impracticable. I was happy in perceiving this revolution in their sentiments, this change in their designs : as a friendly understanding with the powerful chiefs of the neighbouring villages, is the true policy to be observed on the part of the emigrants at Montserado. While this fortress was advancing, other operations, calculated in an eminent manner to improve the settlement, were also undertaken and carried through : indeed, nothing was left undone which I had the power to do ; conceiving that both the spirit and letter of your instructions required the performance of every thing which a limited means rendered practicable, tending in any way to ensure the success of an establishment instituted for colonizing the free men of colour of the United States, and for the reception of captured emancipated slaves : objects

commanding the approbation of every humane heart, and the benedictions of thousands, who are to be benefitted by their accomplishment. While I witnessed with satisfaction these laudable undertakings drawing to a completion, I felt no small impatience to leave the coast before the commencement of the "rains"—frequent tornadoes, warning me of their approach, leaving impressions on my mind by no means tending to reconcile me to a stay of many days. The health of my crew was, at this time, comparatively good, considering the length of time we had experienced the debilitating effect of tropical heat, and I felt no small anxiety to preserve them in this state, for the service they were yet to encounter in the West Indies—a hope fondly indulged, but in which I was cruelly disappointed.

Our labours were nearly at a close, when my Surgeon was suddenly taken down, and on the sixth day was no more ! The sick list received several names in the course of a few days ; cases at first apparently slight, speedily assumed the symptoms of the coast fever ! The appearance of this disease determined me, especially as the castle was finished, to delay no time in removing from the coast. In pursuance of this resolution, the crew were forthwith embarked, and the ship immediately put to sea. This measure, carried into effect with promptitude, encouraged a hope that there would be an end to a malady understood to be peculiar to the African coast, generated by the miasma and poisonous exhalations from vegetable decomposition and a deleterious atmosphere, thrown from waters which, after the annual deluge has subsided, become stagnant and pestilential.

Such was my expectations, from so salutary a change ; this expectation doubtless would have been realized, had the winds been sufficiently fresh and favourable to have enabled us to reach, in a short time, a higher latitude. It was not, however, our good fortune to be thus propitiated—but the reverse was our lot—fogs, calms, with an alternation of rains and intense suns, rendered our situation truly deplorable, and rapidly increased our sick list, so that, on the 25th of April, seven days after putting the ship to sea, the sick report contained the names of sixty of my officers and crew, and was for some time diminished only by death—not in fact diminished, for death but made room for others, brought down with similar symptoms, and threatened with a similar fate. The extreme humidity of the atmosphere, and the confined state of the ship, in consequence of torrents of rain, had changed, in a great degree, the character of this distemper, giving it all the features of the typhus. The symptoms were not altogether exclusively those attendant on this fever ; they as-

sumed a compound and multifarious appearance, not always equally violent, but in most cases equally fatal. In many instances, a general suffusion took place, the body exhibiting a deep yellow tinge, together with a highly discoloured tongue; delirium, madness, instant prostration of strength, with convulsive contortions, carrying the victim off suddenly. In other cases, the symptoms were wholly different, vital decay producing a slow and destructive debility, resulting in extinction of life."

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*From Dr. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy.*

Monrovia, Africa, July 18, 1823.

SIR: A few days after landing in Africa, all the new comers were taken ill; there has but one escaped the sickness: we have lost eight of our number. The colonists who were out before, have been very healthy; there has not been a case of fever among them since I have been out. We are now all on the mend, but attended with a great degree of debility.

The captured Africans have been constantly employed in the defence of the colony, during the late war with the natives; and, since that time, the urgency of the affairs of the colony have been such that they have been constantly employed in preparing a defence for the place, which has deprived them of the opportunity of acquiring that information of agriculture and the mechanical arts which would benefit them in acquiring a livelihood in civilized life, according to the humane intentions of the President, expressed in his message to Congress, and approved by them.

Owing to this circumstance, I thought it my bounden duty to retain them a year longer, at the charge of the United States, to accomplish this purpose. I have placed them under the care of the Rev. Lot Carey, a coloured man. A part of each day they are to attend, and the remainder of their time to labour, under the immediate care of Mr. Carey, in clearing and cultivating the land, whereby they will acquire a knowledge that will benefit them through life. Their labour is always to be under my immediate direction.

I have not been able to settle the accounts of Mr. Macauley yet. The *Augusta* left here, a few days after my arrival, for the North, and has not returned, and probably will not, until after the rains—so that I am without the possibility of communication with Sierra Leone, and unable to accomplish it.

The goods received in the Colony from the Trading Company of Baltimore, will enable me to dispense with the neces-



sity of drawing bills on London for necessities, but can draw directly on the government. I have the honour to be, your most obedient humble servant,

E. AYRES.

The Hon. SMITH THOMPSON, *Secretary U. S. Navy.*

Freetown, 11th March, 1823.

SIR : Understanding that you wish to be acquainted with what stores, and other necessities, may be useful to the American Colony on Cape Montserado, I beg leave to acquaint you with the following particulars. In December last, going down to Cape Coast in H. M. C. Schooner Prince Regent, I was informed by a Krou Canor, that the American settlers were in war with the natives, who had attacked them the night before and killed some men, I immediately hastened to the spot, though considerable beyond it, to render what assistance I could. On my arrival, I was informed by Mr. Ashmun, the American Agent, that they had suffered severely from the ill treatment of the inhabitants at King Peter's town; he was in constant fear of being attacked by two or three thousand men; he was also in want of powder and ball. I supplied him with the articles he stood in need of, and the next day proceeded to King Peter's town, accompanied by Capt. Lang, of the Royal African Light Infantry, when we made the agreement with the King, not to molest the settlers any more, until we heard from Sir Charles McCarthy. Having so far arranged peace and quietness, I proceeded on my voyage, on my return to Sierra Leone, in the Intercourse packet in February last, (they had not been disturbed since I saw them last;) I did not understand from the Agent what was actually wanted for the settlement, but I have every reason to believe, that the following stores would be useful, viz :

Gardners Tools, Pick Axes, Shovels, Powder, Shot, Muskets, Musket Balls, Beef, Pork, Flour, Lumber, Joist, Plank, Shingles, Nails of all descriptions.

The Colony was greatly improved, considering the few men residing there, and allowing for the difficulties they have laboured under; they have cleared away a considerable quantity of land on the Cape, and had built for their own defence a square consisting of the country wood, in the middle of which there was a long eighteen pound cannon, mounted on a pivot. I would recommend, if such a thing could be procured here, four or six field pieces as the most useful thing required on so young a Colony.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed,)

JNO. JAS. MCCOY.

To Captain SPENCE, *United States Ship Chace.*

Sierra Leone, March 12th, 1823.

SIR : I left the American Colony of free Blacks, at Cape Montserado, about the 22d ultimo, at which time they were in distress for provisions, clothing, ammunition, &c. There are five of the Colonists prisoners to, or in the knowledge of, King Peter—I redeemed one child with presents, and the Snapper Gun Brig obtained the release of another by a palaver.

The Colonists are unable to cultivate the land and defend themselves at the same time.

In my opinion they stand in need of Beef, Pork, Flour, Lumber, Nails, Gunpowder, Balls, &c. and particularly lead for casting musket balls ; these I consider absolutely necessary for their preservation. Some medicines and stores are also wanted for the sick.

They also want some good muskets, cutlasses, grape shot, ramrod and screws, for the 12 pounder, &c.

I paid for the child spoken of before 20 bars of tobacco, 20 yards of cloth, and 2 gallons of rum, which appear to be the best articles by which to obtain any thing from the natives.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) WILLIAM HABANGER.

To R. T. SPENCE, Esq.

*Commanding U. S. Ship Cyane.*

## PAPERS B.

*Extract from Dr. Ayres' communications soon after the return of the Oswego.*

Monrovia, July 11th, 1823.

DEAR SIR : By the blessing of God, I am still in the land of probation, and my health so far improved, as to be able to give you a short account of what has happened since my writing by the Oswego.

The disease among us has totally differed in type and character from what I have formerly seen in the dry season, and required a new treatment. My health was fortunately preserved, until some of the first cases had run through their first stage, and I had pretty well discovered the character of the disease. At this critical juncture, there came along a British vessel which furnished us with five dozen of porter ; had it not been for this seasonable supply, many of us would now have been in our grave—our shamefully scanty supplies affording us nothing suitable to prescribe for arresting the dis-

ease in its first critical change. After I was taken down, and could not visit the sick, I cannot in too high terms speak of the useful exertions of the Rev. Lot Carey. He three times a day visited the sick, brought me an account of their state, received my prescriptions, and attended to the administering of the medicine. To his great exertions we are all much indebted. On landing, the new emigrants took lodgings wherever they could find room to store in. When they all became sick, they were strewed over the floors with nothing under them but mats, and many of them drenched with rain every day. Under all these circumstances, we have been favoured by loosing but eight, five adults and three children. Among the deaths I have to lament that of Isaiah Preston, a young man of great promise; he has not left his equal in the Colony.

Our first attention was turned towards getting houses over our heads. The rains have been so incessant, and other interruptions from sickness, &c. that this is not yet accomplished. I hope we shall shortly have these houses finished; when that is done I shall introduce an entire new mode of procedure; their lots will be surveyed to them, and every one go to work for themselves. This, I hope, will produce a considerable alteration in the character of the colonists. There will be a number of those who will have to remain a charge to the Society.

There are two or three invalids, from wounds received in the war, that will never be able to work.

It is my intention, when the lots are divided off to the people, to allow them half their time to labour on their lots, and be liable to be called the other half of their time to publick labour.

I shall appoint three magistrates to serve for one year, whose duty it shall be to take cognizance of all disorderly conduct in the Colony; to have a hearing, and take evidence in the case, but pass no sentence. The last Saturday of every month I hold a court, when all the cases tried during the month by the magistrates are reported, and the magistrates stand the accusers in behalf of the Colony. The accused have the privilege of being tried by a jury if they wish it.

As soon as the houses are finished, and the lots appropriated to the individuals, it is my intention to put in practice the plan which has ever been nearest my heart in the plan of colonizing, viz. all male minors who have no guardian in the Colony, to be classed with the captured Africans; they are to have a house built for the occasion. The Rev. Lot Carey has consented to take charge of them for the present.

They will be called up at five in the morning, and attend prayers; be ready to repair to business at sunrise: work until

eight, A. M. breakfast at 9, repair to work until 11 o'clock ; then attend school until half past 12 ; adjourn for recreation until half past two ; their labour always to be subject to my order. They will be employed principally in clearing and cultivating a plantation in the best order ; we stand much in need of tools of many descriptions. I hope now in a short time to be able to give some more cheering accounts to the Society, of our proceedings in this quarter ; but it is yet in the bosom of futurity, and I know not what trials and obstacles it may please the Almighty to lay in our way.

My health is daily gaining, I can now be up half the day.

I have the honour to be, your most obedient humble servant,  
E. AYRES.

Rev. R. R. GURLEY, *Agent A. C. Society.*

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A small mistake is to be found in a statement made by the Society's Agent, in a letter to a gentleman in Richmond, which has since appeared in some of the newspapers, and is corrected in this Report. We will take the liberty to recapitulate concisely the facts concerning the mortality amongst the African colonists.

The whole number sent out under the patronage of the Board, 225. Died at Campelar, of those who went out in the Elizabeth, 22. At Sierra Leone, 4 ; two of which by fever. At Liberia, 20 ; eleven only by fever. Total number of deaths, 46. The number at the Colony by the last census, 140 ; others have left the Colony ; some settled at Sierra Leone, some returned to this country.

We give, with pleasure, the following account of the sickness which occurred among the passengers in the Elizabeth, soon after her arrival in Africa in 1820, from the pen of one who was familiarly acquainted with all the circumstances of the case.

The Elizabeth arrived at Sherbro a short time before the rains commenced. The Agents were induced to accept the invitation of Kizzell, who was then supposed to be a zealous friend of the Colony, and to take up their temporary residence at Campelar, a town belonging to Kizzell. Campelar is a small island low and marshy, and surrounded with mud and mangrove trees, excluding the fresh air, and exposing the people to the full effect of marsh mud and vegetable putrefaction, without fresh air, just after a sea voyage. The only water at this place was very offensive, coming from the marsh, but which Kizzell at first persuaded them was a chalybeate spring, and healthy, whilst he was secretly getting the water

for himself from a spring on the continent, three miles distant. The sickness soon commenced, and the mortality was so rapid, that the people were soon deprived of medical aid, of nursing, and of almost every accommodation. When the cause of the sickness was discovered, and after the death of the white agents, the remainder were removed to another part of the island, under the care of their own people, Coker and Johnson; and it is a most remarkable circumstance in favour of the general healthiness of the climate, that not one died, it is believed, after the removal; although most of them were debilitated by the sickness at Campelar; their accommodations were miserable exposed hovels, in which they had to encounter the whole season of rains, which had just commenced, and their supplies of provisions and medicine limited and scanty, with but little order or discipline, and without any medical advice. The sick all soon recovered in their new situation, under all these disadvantages. Disposing, then, of the death of these twenty-two, as caused by the particular sources of disease from their situation and circumstances, it leaves but thirteen deaths of the whole number of emigrants from the fevers of the climate.

When we reflect upon the various deprivations and exposure to which the people have been subjected, in removal from place to place, and the many difficulties attending the first settlement of a new country, it will be matter of surprise that so few have died. In comparison with the settlement of our own country, it augurs strongly in favour of the general healthiness of the climate for the descendants of Africans.



*Address of the Board of Managers published in August last.*

## AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, urged by the most powerful motives of religion and humanity, appeal to a generous public in behalf of their great design.

Six years have elapsed since the institution of their Society; and, though want of funds has prevented very vigorous and extensive exertions, though sad occurrences have obstructed its operations, it has advanced; gathered strength in its progress; been instructed by misfortune; and, aided by Heaven, has demonstrated the practicableness of its plans, and confirmed the hope, early entertained, that its efforts, if well sustained, would be succeeded by splendid and sublime results.

Whether these efforts shall be thus sustained, it remains with this enlightened community to decide.

The territory purchased in Africa, appears to have been judiciously selected, and, it is believed, combines a greater number of advantages for a colonial establishment, than any other situation on the Coast. Elevated, and open to the sea, with a harbour to be easily rendered excellent; fertile, and well watered; intersected by the Montserado River, extending several hundred miles into the interior; bordered by tribes, comparatively, mild in character; it promises to the settlers every facility for the attainment of their objects.

The number now at the Colony, including the sixty who recently took passage in the brig *Oswego*, probably amounts to one hundred and ninety. The African tribes in that neighbourhood are neither ferocious nor brave; and the recent contest, in which their combined forces (amounting at one time to fifteen hundred) attempted to exterminate our Colony, nobly defended by its thirty men, proves any thing rather than difficulty of maintaining a stand against their power.

It proves, indeed, that the natives of Africa, like most uncivilized men, are treacherous; that, incited by the slave traders and the hope of plunder, they will not hesitate to murder the defenceless, and that a colony, if it survives at all, must live not by their favour, but by its own strength. It proves that our settlement, commenced at the expense of so much time, and money, and suffering, may perish—but only through neglect. And shall this Colony be abandoned?

The Board believe it impossible that their earliest friends, who have watched all the movements of their Society with the deepest concern; implored for it the favour of God; rejoiced to see it living, amidst misfortunes, and acquiring confidence in its march; will refuse their aid at this crisis, when the question is, shall all past exertion be lost, through present inactivity, or shall an immediate and powerful effort render permanent the foundations of a work, which, completed, shall prove an honour to our country, an incalculable advantage to Africa, a magnificent contribution to the light, freedom, and happiness of the world.

That the resources and strength of the Colony should be immediately augmented, appears to the Board indispensable; and most earnestly do they solicit their countrymen to furnish the means of performing it. The colonists, increased to double their present number, supplied with implements of husbandry, and (for a few months) with the means of subsistence, will, it is believed, never afterwards require pecuniary aid; but, perfectly secure from hostile violence, may engage, with

a moral certainty of success, in the peaceful and profitable employments of life. The immediate object of the Board, then, is to give stability to their establishment in Africa, and it is in behalf of that establishment that they make their appeal.

It is their determination, should the charities of the public equal their expectations, to send several vessels to the African coast in the ensuing fall, and to adopt and execute, without delay, such other measures as may contribute to the strength and prosperity of that Colony.

What mind, susceptible of benevolent feeling, or even of common sympathy, can reflect, without pain, upon the dangers, privations, and warfare, endured for many months past by the little band at Cape Montserado? Widely separated from the civilized world, surrounded by barbarous foes; suffering the untried influence of a tropical climate; destitute of the comforts, of the necessities of life; in the daily expectation of death; no defence but their courage, no protection but God, they have stood with unbroken energy, and deserve for their conduct high commendation and a cherished regard.

The Board have not heard, with insensibility, of the trials of these men, nor wanted the disposition to relieve them. They have not possessed the means. But, though retarded in their efforts by the destitution of funds, they have recently rejoiced in the departure of the brig *Oswego*, well supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and having on board a reinforcement of more than sixty colonists.

The Board are happy to state, that, since the foregoing part of the Address was written, communications have been received from Africa, of a highly interesting and encouraging character. Health and harmony now prevail in the Colony; hostilities with the natives have terminated. The children who were taken captive on the 11th of November, have been voluntarily restored, and the settlement is greatly improved. The condition of the Colony, previous to the arrival of the *Cyane* upon the coast, though rendered more tolerable by the exertions of the Agent and people, assisted by an officer and several sailors from an English vessel, was, indeed, distressing; and the noble services of Captain Spence and his generous crew, cannot be too highly appreciated. This officer, when informed of the sufferings of the Colony, immediately repaired to Sierra Leone; fitted for sea the schooner *Augusta*, belonging to the United States, and, to the great joy of the colonists, arrived at Montserado on the 27th of March, where he offered to the Colony every aid in his power. Capt. Spence, though the cruize of the *Cyane*

had been already protracted, in an unhealthy climate, resolved, without hesitation, to remain so long on the coast as should be necessary to prepare the Colony for the approaching rains, and to strengthen it against any future attacks. He completed a suitable house for the Agent, and erected a tower of strong mason work, which, it is believed, will prove a safe defence against the barbarians. Having nearly accomplished his design, the benevolent and efficient exertions of this officer were interrupted by the sickness of his crew, increased, no doubt, by their exertions under the burning sun of that climate; and he was compelled to leave the Colony on the 21st of April. Several extracts from the letter of the Agent of the Society will be found in the Appendix. "It is too obvious," he remarks, in one of them, "to require repetition, that, what your Colony now wants, is a strong reinforcement of orderly and efficient emigrants."

Having exhausted their resources, the Board can look for the power of future exertion only to the liberality of a great, humane and Christian nation. They appeal to the several auxiliary institutions, and to all their friends, with confidence, for they have experienced, even in times of deep discouragement, their vigorous exertion. They appeal to their countrymen in general with high hopes, because the possibility of effecting their design is no longer problematical, while its benevolence and its greatness admit of no question. The obstacles deemed insurmountable have been overcome—the things thought impossible have been accomplished. Standing on an eminence which, it was said, they could not reach, the Board see before them an extensive prospect, fair as the morning spread upon the mountains—the land of promise to degraded thousands—the rich inheritance which God has given to tribes who have drank deep of the waters of affliction, laboured and wept in a land of strangers. Shall they not maintain their station, or rather shall they not advance and possess the land?

In conclusion, may not the Board be permitted to ask—How shall this great nation, so favoured, free, and happy, which God has delivered by his own right arm and exalted as a light and example to the world, exhibit, in an equal manner the strength of its gratitude, the consistency of its principles, the purity of its justice, or the power of its benevolence, as by engaging at once, and with energy, in an enterprise which, while it relieves our country from an immense evil, shall extend the empire of liberty and truth, terminate the worst of trafficks, rescue from present and future ruin a miserable race, and confer upon them, their descendants, and upon the



unenlightened population of a mighty continent, knowledge, civilization, dignity, all the blessings and hopes of a Christian people ?

J. MASON,	} Acting Committee.
W. JONES,	
F. S. KEY,	
E. B. CALDWELL,	
JAMES LAURIE,	

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### C.

The exertions of midshipman R. R. McMullin, while upon the African coast were most meritorious. Though suffering severely by fever, and deprived of all the white men of his crew, he persevered in guarding the coast in the *Augusta*, until she became entirely unfit for sea. While the Captain, sailors, and Dr. Ayres, were sick on their passage home in the *Fidelity*, though extremely weak himself, he took the command, and by exposures which hazarded his life, and by great energy of conduct, secured, it is believed, the safety of the vessel and passengers. We are happy in paying this tribute to a gallant young Officer.

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### PAPER D.

*Extracts from Mr. Ashmun's Letter, dated Monrovia, May 15, 1823.*

Cape Montserado, May 15, 1823.

Capt. Spence left the walls of the Tower raised above the foundation, (which consisted of heavy stone work,) about 11 feet ; and had prepared most of the timbers for the platform, or gun floor.

Being much worn with cares, and fatigue,—and Mr. Seton offering to superintend this work—after organizing the labouring force of the colony, I went on board the “*Augusta*,” on the 21st of April, and sailed for Seltra-Kroo ; about 200 miles S. eastward, for the purpose of conveying to their own country about 40 Kroo-men, who, in consideration of their passage had laboured for us three weeks.

Owing to the illness of Lieut. Dashiell on board, to contrary winds, and accidents which befel the Schooner, we did not return till the 13th of May ;—after an absence from the Cape, of 21 days. Among the Schooner's accidents were, the loss of her stream anchor, and kedge, through carelessness ; and

the carrying away of both her top-masts, which had injudiciously been retained from her old spars.

One century ago, a great part of this line of coast was populous, cleared of its trees, and under cultivation. It is now covered with a dense, and almost continuous forest. This is almost wholly a second growth—commonly distinguishable from the original, by the profusion of brambles and brush-wood which abounds amongst the larger trees, and renders the woods entirely impervious, even to the natives, until paths are opened by the Bill-hook.

The native towns are numerous, but not large. The people raise their own rice, cassada, and palm-oil; and procure their guns, powder, cloths, tobacco, knives, cooking utensils, and luxuries, from French slave traders. We saw at least three vessels of this description.

I observed, on this excursion, several situations, which, in point of local advantages were obviously preferable, as the seat of a colony, to Grand Bassa; but none, which I did not judge far behind Montserado. I was surprised to find the place selected at Bassa for the site of the colonial town to be a low peninsula, having an impassable swamp stretching along its rear for several leagues, and terminating sea-ward, in a sluggish creek!—King Ben, in anticipation of the arrival of our people, had built here, a large house, which shows to a great distance in the offing.—With this King, I had repeated conversations; and frankly explained the true reason why the contract of Messrs. Andrus and Bacon was not confirmed by their fathers in America; and told him that our nation, like England, could not, according to their laws, have any agency in carrying off the poor people of Africa. All this he seemed perfectly to comprehend; and after a few moment's silent reflection, coincided that he could not blame the Americans for observing their laws, and refusing to settle at Bassa. He should not persist in requiring it.

The conversation then reverted to the death of his son. I explained to him the cause and circumstances of his decease, as I had learnt them. *That Messrs. A. and B. had treated him with paternal tenderness, till their arrival at Sierra Leone; when they placed him under the care and instruction of one of the best of white men, to be instructed in whatever was most useful—that God visited him with a disorder which the most skillful men could not cure.* He stated in reply, that he was satisfied that “*God killed his son;*” but that “*Messrs. Andrus and Bacon promised to take his son to America, instead of Sierra Leone.*” Of that, I knew nothing; and told him, *that one of the men was dead, the other had left the country,—perhaps King Ben had misunderstood them; or they him.*

"Well," he rejoined, "*White men don't come settle Bassa. No palaver for that. God kill my son. True:—but what you pay me for my son die in your hand?*" I told him, *white men had no such custom; and could not understand paying for a dead man.* He soon observed, "*That be true: white men can't sabby black man's fash. I say then, God kill my son. No palaver for that. But he die in your hand. That make my heart sorry. Now, what you give me to make my heart glad?*" This was coming to the point.—I promised him a small present, provided he sent for it to Montserado. This he promised to do; and repeatedly expressed his wish, that the most perfect amity might forever subsist between his people and the Colony.

Every tribe, indeed, visited on this trip, declared by its Prince, or head-men, its intention to preserve with us a good understanding, and to trade freely to the colony. The particulars of our late war, especially the result of the two engagements, have been reported far and near, and given to the colony a character for strength and invincibility, which must, in different ways, contribute greatly to its advantage.

During this trip, I collected 230 gallons of palm-oil—an article of the first necessity here; answering the double purpose of lamp-oil and suet. The means of lighting our houses in this latitude, where the sun is, 12 hours out of every 24, below the horizon the year round, are necessary, not as a matter of convenience only, but of necessity. Besides supplying their own wants with the valuable article just mentioned, the people about Montserado prepare little or none for sale. Down the coast it is abundant and cheap.

I likewise engaged 25 Kroo-men as labourers—perhaps, eventually as settlers near the colony. The wages allowed this company, are 3 bars, or about 5 pounds of leaf tobacco, per man, for the month. The customary wages are 4 bars.

At the river Sesters is an English factory. Here I purchased 1500 feet of boards, at a very high price. But the unfinished state of the Agent's house, and some other uses for which this article *must* be had, overruled the extreme reluctance with which I submitted to pay more for this little lot of lumber, than it was worth to the seller.

Returning to the colony on the 13th instant, I found Mr. Seton, the young gentleman from the Cyane, mentioned in my last, very ill of the fever. But apparently convalescent. By "convalescent," when applied to cases of fever in this country, is by no means to be understood that the patient, if he be a white man, is in the way of a speedy recovery.

The colonists working under the superintendence of one of their number, have continued to raise the walls of the tower.

The battery platform is laid, and the walls carried a few inches above it. Under the hands of the 25 additional labourers, the work now proceeds more rapidly.

The season for planting and sowing the seeds of such vegetables and grains as produce only an annual crop, has now commenced, and will continue until the middle of June.—Most of the seeds on hand, having been in a damp store house for nearly a year, are, I fear, spoilt. Our people, I regret to say, have not commenced preparing their plantations; nor, for obvious reasons, would it be proper to impede the progress of our works of defence by withdrawing any of the labourers, even for agricultural purposes.

*June 5th.*

The English have established a regular packet communication between Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast. The distance is little short of 1,000 miles. The "Intercourse" Schooner commonly makes a trip, including the return, in about 2 months, and has made Montserado one of her touching places. May 31st, she arrived here from the lee ward, and proceeded on to Sierra Leone on the 2d instant, taking from Montserado about 20 Kroo labourers. It is customary for public and private vessels to accommodate gratuitously this class of people with passages to and from their native country, and the different European establishments on the coast, to which they resort for employment. They are regarded as a sort of common property. Every body employs them. To-day they will assist in getting a cargo of slaves on board a Spaniard, to-morrow, will aid an English cruizer to capture him; and no umbrage is given or taken. They never deal in slaves, and by common consent, the obvious dictate of interest, are never enslaved by Europeans. Hence, they come aboard of any vessel with an air of fearless confidence, and every indication of feeling themselves entirely at home.

With ordinary success in trade, on this coast, I can clear at least four times the sum which I shall ever ask or expect either of the Government or Society. And the business would not, to say the least, be more arduous, than a faithful discharge of duty within the colony. But my wish is, so long as the Society shall require my services, to lend them to the cause, unless compelled to resort to some other employment.

I feel unworthy of the vote of thanks passed by the Board for endeavouring to perform as well as I could, the arduous, and perilous duties connected with the defence of the colony. But, to know that any part of my conduct merits their approbation, is, I assure you, sir, among the most powerful motives, for endeavouring in future to deserve it.

The valuable present of clothing which I have received, has proved doubly so from the seasonableness of its arrival. But I need not say that it derives in my estimation, a much higher value from the occasion of the donation, and the enlightened source from which it proceeded. The grateful sentiment it has inspired, will long survive the period when the articles, themselves, shall have ceased to be of any value.

June 20, 1823.

I have only a few hours notice of the intention of Captain Weightman, of the Oswego, to sail immediately and direct to the United States.

Mr. Seton's return by this vessel, will supersede the necessity of adding much. We have many cases of sickness amongst the new comers, and some deaths; which are, however, to be attributed to other causes than the badness of the climate, the deaths of the two children excepted.

I trust you will receive more favourable accounts by the next conveyance.

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### E.

#### *Review of the Reports of the American Colonization Society, from the Christian Spectator.*

The Reports of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour in the United States.—1818, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

To the government exercised over us while we continued in a state of colonial dependence, our country owes the greatest blot which stains her annals, and the greatest—almost the only curse, with which providence has seen fit to afflict her. The pittance of honour which England has acquired, or even the stupendous amount of glory which she claims, as a reward of her efforts against the slave trade, can never atone for the crime of introducing into her colonies without their consent, against their wishes, in defiance of their remonstrances, a population of slaves—a population which even if it were not literally enslaved, must forever remain in a state of degradation no better than bondage—a population whose relative increase is, and always must be, a positive diminution of national strength and wealth, and on whose character, and prospects, the philanthropist must for ever look with commiseration, and the patriot with fearful forebodings.

The bare mention of the institution whose reports are now before us, directs, with an impulse which we find it difficult to resist, towards a discussion of slavery as it exists, in the

United States, taking the subject in all its extent, and with all its relations to the prosperity of our country. And this impulse receives additional force from the, perhaps our readers would say, self-complacent impression, that though our conceptions of the nature and extent of this evil, are no less vivid than those of the more ardent of our fellow citizens, they are in some respects more liberal, if not more rational, than the doctrines on this subject which are frequently expressed, with the strongest conviction of their orthodoxy, by many of the journals and other publications of New-England and the middle states. But for the present we are compelled to wave that discussion, except so far as it is necessarily connected with our immediate object ; and we do it in the hope that we shall be able ere long to present our readers with a review of that subject.

Our present design is to examine at some length the history, the prospects, and the claims of the American Colonization Society. We offer no apology for this, because there is too much reason to believe that a great proportion of our readers have never enjoyed a proper opportunity of examining these interesting reports for themselves, and those who have been more favoured in this respect, will certainly agree with us that every individual ought to know what an institution so gigantic in its designs has already accomplished, what it is now doing, and what it may reasonably hope to accomplish hereafter.

The American Colonization Society was organized at Washington about the commencement of the year 1817. In the words of its constitution, "the object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." Among the individuals most active in procuring its establishment, besides many of the present members of the Board of Managers, were the late Rev. Dr. Finley, of New-Jersey, and Samuel J. Mills. The former is indeed said to have been the original projector of the plan. At the period of its formation the society received the strongest expressions of approbation, and the warmest assurances of good will from many very distinguished men of the southern states. This was highly important, as it had a strong tendency to gain the confidence of the southern people, without which all the operations of the society, must of course, be exceedingly embarrassed. But the approbation of great men, and the sanction of great names, will never go far towards the attainment of any benevolent object. It is one thing for a professed orator to make a speech in favour of an enter-

prise, and it is quite another thing for him to bring all the resources of his knowledge and all the powers of his understanding, to bear upon the success of that enterprise, even though it should be at the expense of his popularity. And it is one thing for a man of wealth in a moment of generous excitement to place his name at the head of a subscription as the contributor of thirty, or fifty, or a hundred dollars, and it is altogether a different thing for the same man to renew his donation from year to year, when the novelty of the affair has gone by, or when the cause is labouring under a temporary depression, or when some of his neighbours will laugh at his enthusiasm. For the success of any benevolent object, we would rather have the favour of one pious female, than the favour of five rich men, who are actuated by no stronger and steadier impulse than the generosity of their nature. And in this, or any similar undertaking, the co-operation of the humble, noiseless, unnoticed Samuel J. Mills, would be better than the co-operation of almost any distinguished man high in office. It ought not to be expected that the men who are occupied with the bustle and intrigues of political life, will devote their time and attention to the minor business of doing good. They feel that it is enough for them to bid the philanthropist God-speed. It is enough for them to call the slave trade by all the hard names contained in the vocabulary of indignation, or to lift their hands and their voices in favour of popular enactments for its abolition. And it is no more than justice to them, that the scanty pittance of influence, which is perhaps all that their avocations will permit them to contribute, should be made to go as far as possible. Our benevolent institutions in New-England act on this principle ; and a society hardly seems to be organized unless it is able to prefix to its reports a bead-roll of Excellent and Honourable names. With this fact in view, we have been astonished to hear it objected to the colonization society, that they are too anxious to secure the patronage of great names. Without attempting a formal vindication of their policy in this respect, we will merely suggest that there is an old proverb touching the inexpediency of that man's beginning to throw stones who lives in a glass house ; and we close this digression by observing that much good would be accomplished if all our Senators and members of Congress who are enrolled as Presidents and Vice-Presidents, and Directors of Benevolent Societies, would devote to the objects which they profess to patronise, half that attention and half that zeal, which as we do assuredly know, southern Senators and members of Congress, have devoted to the object now under consideration.

The first important measure of the Board was the sending

of a mission of inquiry to Africa by the way of England. This was a measure of obvious necessity ; for in what other way could they obtain the information which was indispensable to the commencement of their enterprise ? The Society's agents, Messrs. Mills and Burgess, sailed from Philadelphia, Nov. 16, 1817, arrived at Sierra Leone in March following, and after about two months spent in a laborious and painful survey of the coast, re-embarked on their voyage for America. The memory of this voyage is consecrated in the hearts of christians, by the fact that soon after they left Africa, Samuel John Mills, the man of God, whose name is so intimately associated with almost every great moral movement which has been made on our continent, finished the work which God had given him to do, and entered on his reward in heaven. The simple narrative of the missionaries which so beautifully describes their travels, and labours in Africa, has been read by thousands, and ought to be read by all. It was published entire in the second annual Report, and the substance of it may be found likewise in the biography of Mills.

By the exertions of some members of the Colonization Society, it was soon discovered that the law of the United States for the abolition of the slave trade, enacted in 1807, was extremely defective in some of its provisions. By one section of this law, the power of disposing of any slaves who might afterwards be introduced into the United States was vested in the Legislatures of the several states or territories into which they might be imported. In conformity with this provision the Legislature of Georgia had enacted that all negroes unlawfully introduced into that state, should be sold by the Executive *for the benefit of the state* ; and under that law, sales to a considerable amount were actually made, and the proceeds paid into the state treasury. The same act, however, recognised the existence and designs of the Colonization Society, and provided, that if that Society would engage to receive such persons of colour and transport them out of the country exclusively at their own expense, the slaves instead of being sold should be delivered into their hands. In consequence of the representations of the Board to Congress, the laws relative to the slave trade were revised, and it was determined to establish an agency on the coast of Africa for the reception of rescued slaves, and to send from time to time, a national ship to cruize along the coast so as to abolish the slave trade at its source. The particular point at which the proposed establishment should be erected, was left to the Executive ; and as it was evident that a co-operation between the government and the Colonization Society would equally promote the benevolent objects of both, the President deter-



mined to locate the agency at whatever place the Society should select for the site of their colony. Accordingly, the Elizabeth was chartered which carried out the agent of the Society, and the two agents of government, together with about eighty people of colour, who were to commence the settlement, and were to be employed for a time at the expense of government, in making the necessary preparations for the reception of such Africans as might be re-captured. Though the location of the colony had not been determined, it was expected that the agents would easily procure a favourable situation in the Bagroo country. They were compelled by a variety of unfortunate circumstances to land and make a temporary establishment on the low, unhealthy island of Sherbro. Here, while they were attempting in vain to negotiate for land with the treacherous natives, they were attacked by disease; and the three agents, and twenty of the colonists were swept away. The superintendence of the whole establishment devolved on Daniel Coker, one of the most intelligent and respectable of the settlers. Some of the colonists, who by the way seem not on that occasion to have been selected with much discretion, became disorderly; and the colony came so near to ruin that in the spring of 1821, when it was reinforced by the arrival of Messrs. Andrus and Wiltberger the Society's agents, and Messrs. Winn and E. Bacon the United States agents, with 28 effective labourers, they were instructed in consequence of the entire failure of the negotiations for land, to seek the protection of the British Government at Sierra Leone. The colonists were accordingly removed to Fourah Bay in the vicinity of Freetown, Messrs. Andrus and Bacon went to the Bassa country, and attempted unsuccessfully to purchase land for the colony. They had scarcely returned from this expedition when Mr. Bacon and his wife were attacked with the sickness incident to the climate, and sailed for America. Mr. Andrus soon after died, (Aug. 27) and in the succeeding month Mr. and Mrs. Winn, within a few days of each other, followed him to the grave. In the beginning of December, Dr. Ayres, who had been sent out as the Society's agent, and Lieut. Stockton of the U. S. schooner *Alligator*, sailed to Cape Montserado, and after struggling with great difficulties which they overcame by means of their acquaintance with the African character, succeeded in purchasing of King Peter, King George, King Zoda, King Long Peter, King Governor, and King Jimmy, for the consideration of about 300 dollars, a tract of country large enough for all the present purposes of the colony, supplied with excellent springs of water, fruitful in its soil and healthy in its climate, on the banks of a river as large as the Connecticut. "and

with one of the best harbours between Gibraltar and the Cape of Good Hope." The letter of Dr. Ayres, containing the history of this transaction, presents so vivid a picture of the character and manners of the natives, that we must be indulged with the following extracts :

" On the 11th of December, 1821, in the night, we came to anchor off St. Paul's river. At daylight on the 12th, got under way and soon observed several canoes coming off to us. The moment we anchored, our boat was out, and Mr. Stockton and myself went on shore before any wrong impression could be made on the king. We landed on the beach, at the king's Krootown, and told them we wanted to see the king ; we had presents on board for him ; and showed them some rum and tobacco which we had taken on shore for him.

" Three or four of the people who had gathered round us were dressed in large striped hoods, thrown over their shoulders, and had the appearance of being people of authority.

" After waiting some time, they sent off an express for king Peter. It had been represented to us unsafe to go on shore without being armed, and that we should certainly be murdered and robbed. But we determined to go unarmed, as an evidence that our aim was pacific. While sitting and waiting for the king under the shed of a Kooman, the people kept collecting, most of them with knives hanging to their sides. At length there came five or six armed with muskets. I began to think there might be some truth in the reports. We were now surrounded by fifty or sixty, armed in this way, and we were without the means of defence, except a demijohn of whiskey and some tobacco. I narrowly watched their countenances, as well as that of Mr. Stockton. I saw he was no way concerned, and a little observation showed there was yet no hostility in their intentions.

" Express after express was sent for the king. After a long time one of the most reputable looking men told us ' The king be fool—he no talk English—I his mouth, what I say, king say. —What you want ? ' We told him we were desirous of getting a place in Africa to build a house, make farms, &c.' After explaining our views to this person, and discussing them some time, they sent another message to the king, and he then made his appearance. He was dressed in a cotton garment of large blue and white stripes, thrown over his shoulders, and a person holding an umbrella over his head. He came, shook hands with us, and took a seat. When his interpreter related to him our object in visiting him, we did not fail to let him know the high estimation in which we held him for veracity and punctuality, and that this had induced us to prefer him to some other chiefs : and like most monarchs,

we found his ear always open to the sound of his own praise. He said "he thanked us for the favour we had done him in coming to him first, and we might have land." We told him we wanted the Island at the mouth of the river, and the Cape. He objected to the Cape, and said "if any white man was to settle on it, then king Peter would die, they would bury him, and then his women would cry a plenty." We did not fail to place in the most favourable light the advantages which our trade would be to him ; but took good care, after our former experience, how we attempted to oppose their prejudices, or to offer to their consideration any views which they could not fully comprehend : we therefore said nothing of civilizing or christianizing them ; but left this, hoping our future example may recommend our principles to their adoption. After sitting some time in palaver, the king told us he would see his head men, and next morning he would meet us again on the beach, and make a book for the land. We gave them our rum and tobacco, and returned to our vessel.

"On the 13th we again went to meet his majesty. We found his head men but no king, yet we sent off an express for him. It was not till after some time, and several messages had passed, that we could get him to meet us. After sitting three hours in palaver, the unfortunate subject of the slave trade was broached, and we again broke up the palaver.

"Our prospect at this time was very dull ; we however determined not to give up the subject lightly, and the next day went on shore again where the King appointed to meet us. When we got there, we found neither King nor any of his head men. Our prospects now were truly discouraging. We, as we had done before, sent off an express for him. He sent word he would not come, nor let us have any land. It then became necessary either to go and seek the King in his Capital, or to give up the case as impracticable, as all persons had found it, who had attempted to negociate for this place before. To go to the town was to place ourselves entirely in the power of a nation who had always been represented to us so savage as to render it unsafe to land on their shore without being completely armed. However we were determined to go ; and were conducted by a Kroo-man, through dark dismal ways, at one time wading through the water, and at another wallowing through the mud ; passing through thick and dark swamps, in narrow paths for six or seven miles into the interior. If one of us staid behind, the Krooman would halloo to us to "come along—the devil will catch us." We at length arrived at his majesty's capital. We were shown into a palaver hall spread with mats, to wait the coming of the King. The head men came and shook hands with us.

and informed us that he was dressing, and would see us in a short time. They looked very grave, and few of them looked well pleased. After waiting about one hour, the King made his appearance. Instead of coming and shaking hands with us, he went and seated himself under another palaver hall. His prime minister then came and invited us to go to the King. He shook hands with us, but looked very angry.

“The first word the king said to us was, ‘what you want that land for?’ This question, so often asked and as often answered, had again to be explained to him. We now found that among the Kroomen who had been on board our vessel the day before, there was one who had been engaged with the father of the Bassa youth we had on board. This man told them we had taken away the king of Bassa’s son and killed him, and when we got the land, we should cut their throats and bury them, another Krooman saw some of our colonists on board and knew them, this circumstance gave them to understand we were the people who had been quarreling so much at Sherbro, and, as if these things could not throw difficulties enough to try our diplomatic skill, one fellow presented himself to Lieut. Stockton, and told him he was one of those whom the Lieutenant had captured on his last voyage, in the *Daphne*, and they had recaptured her on their passage home. These circumstances accounted for the change of conduct in the King and people. Our cause now looked truly deplorable. We were unarmed, in the midst of a nation so exasperated against us. But Lieut. Stockton’s dexterity at mixing flattery with a little well timed threat, turned all to our own advantage. When they complained of his taking the French for trading with them in slaves, he told them his orders were not to meddle with the French or any other nation. That when he saw the French vessel, he sent his boat to see who she was; that they fired at him, and when they fought him, then he whipped them and took their vessel: that he would not suffer any body to make a fool of him: and now king Peter wanted to make a fool of him: that he tell him, three days, he would let him have land, and drink up his rum, and take his tobacco, and now he say he shan’t have any land: this was fooling him. I believe the old king was afraid of being served as the French vessel was, for he soon came to, and promised to call some more kings, and meet us on the shore next morning, and make a book which was to give us the land.

“The island at the mouth of the river we have named *Preserverance*, ‘to perpetuate the long and tedious palaver we had in obtaining it.’

A settlement was begun without delay at Cape Montsera-

do by the colonists who had been residing at Fourah Bay. But in the mean time the African Sovereigns had repented of the bargain by which they had introduced into their vicinity a government favourable to the rights of man, and the progress of human improvement ; and like their whiter and more civilized brethren of another quarter of the Eastern Continent, they were alarmed and looked with jealousy on an innovation which they with their little perspicacity could see—threatened in its progress to impose a new aspect on the face of the society, and to do away all the ancient and venerable abuses by which their wealth and power are supported. Accordingly when Dr. Ayres arrived with the colonists, he was notified by their majesties that the contract must be annulled, and that he could not be permitted to settle. He however ventured to land, so that while the colonists were building their houses he might negotiate with the kings at his leisure. The same course of conduct which Lieut. Stockton had taught him to pursue on the former occasion, proved successful here. The kings were intimidated by his decision and by the zeal of the settlers, and the treaty was ratified. But in a few weeks the difficulties were renewed.

“ A British prize slave vessel had solicited and obtained permission to take water from the Cape. This vessel parted her cable and was thrown on shore. The spirit of hostility, excited by a dispute between the captain and one of the Kings added to the powerful motive presented by the presence of a French vessel waiting her compliment of slaves, induced the natives to attack her, with purposes of plunder. Several of our people engaged in her defence. In the contest which ensued, and which they in vain endeavoured to prevent, two of the natives were killed : and on the succeeding day, a British soldier and one of our colonists. Through the criminal inadvertency of an English sailor, who discharged a cannon in the immediate vicinity of the store house, this building took fire : and with it most of the clothing, provisions, and utensils of the colony were destroyed.—6th Rep.—p. 10.”

All was now in confusion. The natives had received demonstration of the bearing which the colony was to have on the slave trade. A grand palaver was assembled, consisting of seventeen kings, and thirty-four half kings. One or two of the most powerful of these were the decided friends of the colony, and had armed their subjects for war, in case peace could not be procured. Dr. Ayres appeared before this congress, and gave them to understand that he had purchased the territory in question and paid for it, that therefore he intended to retain it, and that if they thought they were able to ex-

pel him they might make the attempt, and he would show them what fighting was:—he would bring ships, and batter down all the towns of those who opposed him from Cape Mount to the Line. “While making this speech,” says he, “I narrowly watched the countenances of Kings Brister and Boson. [King Boson is the most powerful friend of the colony.] Brister showed evident signs of concern, but Boson shook his sides very heartily with laughter. By this I found I had touched the right chord, and did not spare invectives. The other kings appeared uneasy and said one to another, Oh, look white man getting mad, white man getting mad! Boson, to second the impression I had made, sent one of his people round to circulate a report that there were four large ships a little way to the southward, making into the harbour.”—“This threw all into confusion, and it was with difficulty we could keep the kings together until the business was settled.

The difficulties having been adjusted, Dr. Ayres felt himself under the necessity of returning to the United States, for the sake of obtaining supplies. He accordingly took passage for this country on the fourth of June, 1821. On the 8th of August the settlement was reinforced by the arrival of the brig Strong from Baltimore with Mr. and Mrs. Ashmun, and thirty-five colonists, besides fifteen recaptured Africans. Mr. Ashmun had received a commission from the Colonization Society to act in their name in case he should find no agent at the colony. He accordingly assumed the direction of the establishment, laid out the plan of a town, and began to erect such fortifications as might secure it against any attack from the natives.

It was soon ascertained that the labour bestowed on these fortifications was not in vain. Many of the kings, as we have seen, were from the beginning exceedingly afraid that the influence of the colony would be to break up all trade—by which they mean the slave trade—and it is reasonable to suppose that their feelings of suspicion and hostility would not be allayed by the friendly suggestions and admonitions of the traders. Accordingly Mr. Ashmun and his fellow labourers seem to have been continually disturbed by reports of the hostile designs of their neighbours, and to have built the walls of their little town somewhat as Nehemiah and his countrymen builded the walls of Jerusalem; “every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon.” On the morning of November 11th they were attacked by a body of 800 natives, who coming upon them by surprise, gained possession of the settlement, till after one or two discharges of the eighteen pounder, they betook themselves to flight. On the second of December they returned with a

still greater force amounting to about 1500, and attacked simultaneously in two opposite quarters, but after receiving a few shots from the terrific "great guns," they made a hasty departure. They might perhaps have been entirely cut off by these repeated assaults, had it not been for the interference of a British schooner which providentially made its appearance in this season of distress. A cessation of hostilities was effected by the mediation of Capt. Laing, the distinguished African traveller who was on board, and twenty mariners were landed to guaranty the observance of the truce till the difficulties should be finally adjusted. When it is remembered that in this contest the whole effective force of the colony was twenty-eight men and boys, and that the whole loss was only three killed and four wounded, we may regard the result as proving at once the bravery of the settlers and the cowardice of the natives. In the trepidation of the assault, doubtless neither Mr. Ashmun nor the colonists would be able to form a very cool and deliberate estimate of the number of assailants; but after making every allowance for their seeing things double on such an occasion, it must be considered as proved, that one hundred well armed freemen, fighting for their liberty, and their children, and their homes, may defend the colony against all the hordes that can ever be mustered by the holy alliance of Africa. And here we cannot but remark that this affair illustrates very strikingly the difference between the wild men of that continent, and the wild men of America. If that establishment had been attacked, by 800, or 500, or 200 Indians,—we should have known its fate only by conjecture.

It was not to be expected that an arrangement like the one above mentioned would place the settlers immediately in a state of entire security and comfort. Accordingly, when the *Cyane* arrived on the coast, where she had been sent to execute the laws against the slave trade, she found them in a suffering condition. The noble and disinterested exertions of Captain Spence and his crew, in erecting a house for the agent, and a tower of strong mason work for the defence of the town, are gratefully acknowledged by the Managers in their address to the public inserted in the last number of the *Spectator*. This tower which is expected to bid defiance to the barbarians, has been called Stockton Castle. Africa will hereafter honour the men who are labouring for her deliverance. Her mountains and rivers, her provinces and cities, while they testify her gratitude, will be the monuments of their benevolence. And though friends and the public may weep at the loss of those who perish beneath the stroke of the sun by day, or of the moon by night, while labouring in

behalf of suffering humanity ; yet there is a consolation in the thought, that they have perished in a cause, for which they need not be ashamed to be martyrs. If we honour the memory of those who die on the bloody deck in extending the fame of American valour ; surely we ought to honour with a double reverence the memory of those who sacrifice their lives to extend the triumphs of American philanthropy. It makes us feel proud of our country, to see the zeal, and efficiency, which have uniformly been displayed by the officers and seamen of the national vessels that have been appointed from time to time to the African station. “ Most of my associates,” said Lieutenant Stockton, “ were ready (and I sincerely believe it) to sacrifice on the altar of humanity, convenience, comfort, interest and health.”

In April last, Dr. Ayres sailed from Baltimore in the brig Oswego with sixty new settlers,—if their voyage was favourable they must have arrived there more than two months ago.

A trading company has been formed in Baltimore, which if the plan succeeds will hereafter afford the means of a constant and regular communication with the colony. This company consisting of a few respectable merchants was formed with the approbation of the Board, and will we trust have an important connection with the regeneration of Africa. Its design is, we believe, after having made a fair experiment to run two or more vessels as regular traders between Baltimore and Cape Montserado. These will of course afford the means of conveyance to such as are desirous of emigrating. The first vessel sailed at the beginning of June and carried a few passengers.

The present condition of the the colony may be briefly described. It consists of 140\* settlers under the direction of two agents, ardently devoted to the cause, accustomed to their business, seasoned to the climate, and well acquainted with the African character. These men occupy a soil of whose productiveness it is difficult for an inhabitant of our climate to form any adequate conception. By the latest accounts the controversy with the natives seems to have terminated entirely to their satisfaction, so that the former intercourse with them for the purposes of trade has been resumed, and the settlers can clear and cultivate their lands without danger.

Such is the history of the American Colonization Society. Its *design* is general—the benefit of the whole African race. Its *plan of operation* is specific, the establishment on the coast of Africa of a colony of *free* people of colour from America. It is not a Missionary Society, nor a society for the suppression of the slave trade, nor a society for the improvement of

\* At this time, March, 1824, the number is about 240.



the blacks, nor a society for the abolition of slavery. It is simply a society for establishing a colony on the coast of Africa, and so far as any of these other objects are attained by its efforts, they must be attained either as the means, or as the consequences of establishing that colony. But limited as are the operations of this institution, it appears to us to be the *only institution which promises any thing great or effectual for the benefit of the black population of our country*. A single glance at the condition of these beings, and at the obstacles which lie in the way of their improvement, is enough to convince us of this.

There is at present within the limits of the United States, a coloured population of ONE MILLION, SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINE THOUSAND. The character, and circumstances of this class of the community fall, to some extent, under the personal observation of every man. Who is there, that does not know something of the condition of the blacks in the northern and middle states? They may be seen in our cities and larger towns, wandering like foreigners and outcasts, in the land which gave them birth. They may be seen in our penitentiaries, and jails, and poor houses. They may be found inhabiting the abodes of poverty, and the haunts of vice. But if we look for them in the society of the honest and respectable—if we visit the schools in which it is our boast that the meanest citizen can enjoy the benefits of instruction—we might also add, if we visit the sanctuaries which are open for all to worship, and to hear the word of God; we shall not find them there. The *Soodra* is not farther separated from the *Brahmin* in regard to all his privileges, civil, intellectual, and moral; than the negro is from the white man by the prejudices which result from the difference made between them by the God of nature. A barrier more difficult to be surmounted than the institution of the *Caste*, cuts off, and while the present state of society continues must always cut off, the negro from all that is valuable in citizenship. In his infancy, he finds himself, he knows not why, the scorn of his playmates, from the first moment that their little fingers can be pointed at him in derision. In youth, he has no incentive to prepare for an active and honourable manhood. No visions of usefulness, or respectability, animate his prospects. In maturer years, he has little motive to industry, or to any honourable exertion. He is always degraded in the estimation of the community, and the deep sense of that degradation enters into his soul, and makes him degraded indeed. We know that there are individuals, who in spite of all these obstacles to moral and social improvement, have acquired a character of respectability, and piety. But instances like

these, occasioned by the peculiar circumstances or powers of the individuals, cannot be brought to disprove the general assertion, which we make without the fear of contradiction, that the blacks are degraded, without any proper means of improvement, or any sufficient incentive to exertion, that they present the strange anomaly of a large part of the nation that loves to call itself the freest, and happiest, and most enlightened nation on the globe, separated by obstacles which they did not create, and which they cannot surmount, from all the institutions and privileges to which the other portions of the community owe their superiority.

But there is another still more important characteristic of the condition of our coloured population, in comparison with which every other circumstance dwindles into insignificance; and from which all that we have already said is only a single necessary consequence. We mean slavery. And on this subject we must express ourselves briefly, yet boldly. We have heard of slavery as it existed in the nations of antiquity, we have heard of slavery as it exists in Asia, and Africa, and Turkey; we have heard of the feudal slavery under which the peasantry of Europe have groaned from the days of Alaric, until now; but excepting only the horrible system of the West India Islands, we have never heard of slavery in any country, ancient or modern, pagan, Mahomedan, or christian, so terrible in its character; so pernicious in its tendency; so remediless in its anticipated results, as the slavery which exists in these United States. We do not mean here to speak of slavery as a system of bonds and stripes and all kinds of bodily suffering. On this point, there is, we believe, a great degree of misapprehension among our fellow citizens of the North. Many of them are accustomed to associate with the name of slavery, all that is horrible in the details of the African trade, and all that is terrific in the cruelties of Jamaica and Porto Rico. But we rejoice in the belief that these conceptions are erroneous; and that though there may be instances of unpunished, and sometimes perhaps almost unnoticed barbarity, the condition of a slave in most parts of the United States is generally as much superior to that of a slave in the West Indies, as the condition of an American farmer is to that of an Irish peasant. Here we are ready to make what all will consider the most liberal concessions. We are ready even to grant, for our present purpose, that, so far as mere animal existence is concerned, the slaves have no reason to complain, and the friends of humanity have no reason to complain for them. And when we use the strong language which we feel ourselves compelled to use in relation to this subject, we do not mean to speak of animal suffering, but of an im-

mense moral and political evil,—of slavery as it stands connected with the wealth and strength, and more especially with the character and happiness of our nation.

We have no room to enlarge on the political aspect of this subject. We will only ask—where would be the enterprise and the wealth and the strength of New-England, if her green hills and pleasant vallies were cultivated no longer by her own independent and hardy yeomanry, but by the degraded serfs of a Polish aristocracy? And what would not Virginia become, if she could exchange her four hundred and twenty-five thousand slaves for as many freemen, who, in blood and complexion, as well as in immunities and enjoyments, should be one with the proudest of her children?

But the mere politician cannot fail, in estimating the magnitude of this evil, to look at its moral tendency. The great men of the south have looked at it in this aspect, and have expressed themselves accordingly. Judge Washington pronounces it to be “an inherent vice in the community.” Mr. Jefferson uses language on this subject, too strong for even a northern man to regard it as strictly true. In his Notes on Virginia, he says—“The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other.” “The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in a smaller circle of slaves, gives a loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with odious peculiarities.” “I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep for ever.” And speaking of the probability, that the blacks may assert their freedom, he adds, “the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.” It would be easy to collect the sentiments of many highly honoured individuals in the southern states who have expressed themselves as decidedly if not as strongly. But it is enough to say, in regard to the moral influence of the system on the blacks, that laws exist in nearly all the slave-holding states, prohibiting their instruction, and even driving them from Sunday schools, because the public safety requires them to be kept in perfect ignorance; and in regard to its influence on the white population, that the most lamentable proof of its deteriorating effects may be found in the fact, that excepting the pious whose hearts are governed by the christian law of reciprocity between man and man, and the wise whose minds have looked far into the relations and tendencies of things, none can be found to lift their voices against a system so utterly repugnant to the feelings of

unsophisticated humanity—a system which permits all the atrocities of the domestic slave-trade—which permits the father to sell his children, as he would his cattle—a system which consigns one half of the community to hopeless and utter degradation, and which threatens in its final catastrophe to bring down the same ruin on the master and the slave.

There are two considerations in view, of which we ventured to remark that the slavery which exists in our country is more ominous in its character and tendency than any similar system which has ever existed in other countries. The first is, that slavery contradicts the primary principles of our republican government. Slavery was not inconsistent with the principles of Grecian and Roman democracy. It is in perfect harmony with the systems of government, which, excepting Great Britain and Switzerland, prevail in every province of the old world, from the Frozen Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Bay of Biscay to the Pacific. But it stands in direct opposition to all the acknowledged and boasted maxims in which is laid the foundation of our political institutions. The other consideration to which we refer is, that which spreads terror over every aspect in which the subject can be viewed, and which seems to tell us—for all these evils there is no remedy. It is the fact that the slaves, and those who have been slaves, and those whose fathers have been slaves, are all marked out and stigmatized with the brand which nature has stamped upon them. In Greece and Rome, as in almost every other nation, a slave might be made free, and then he was no longer a slave, but he was amalgamated with the rest of the community, and the road of wealth or honour or office was open before him, and his interests were united with the interests of the republic. But here the thing is impossible: a slave cannot be really emancipated. You cannot raise him from the abyss of his degradation. You may call him free, you may enact a statute book of laws to make him free, but you cannot bleach him into the enjoyment of freedom.

Now apply to this subject one very simple arithmetical calculation. In 1820 the slave population of the country was 1,500,000. Their annual increase is estimated at 35,000. Their number doubles in less than 20 years. Things remaining as they now are, in 1840 we shall have 3,000,000 of slaves; in 1860, 6,000,000; and in 1880, 12,000,000; a nation of slaves larger by 4,000,000 than the whole present white population of the United States. What a state of things will this be. Twelve millions of slaves. 'A nation scattered and peeled,' 'a nation meted out and trodden down;'—and God forbid that it should be written in the blood and echoed in the

groans of that generation—"a nation terrible from their beginning hitherto." But even in the short sixty years which must elapse before such a state of things can take place, how much terrou and anxiety must be endured, how many plots must be detected, how many insurrections must be quelled.

Plots! and insurrections! These are words of terrou; but their terribleness is no argument against the truth of what we say. If things go on as they are, words more terrible than these must be "familiar in our mouths." For, notwithstanding all that may be done to keep the slaves in ignorance, they are learning, and will continue to learn, something of their own power, and something of the tenure by which they are held in bondage. They are surrounded by the memorials of freedom. The air which they breathe is free; and the soil on which they tread, and which they water with their tears, is a land of liberty. Slaves are never slow in learning that they are fettered, and that freedom is the birth-right of humanity. Our slaves will not be always ignorant—and when that righteous Providence, which never wants instruments to accomplish its designs, whether of mercy, or of vengeance, shall raise up a Toussaint, or a Spartacus, or an African Tecumseh, his fellow slaves will flock around his standard, and we shall witness scenes which history describes, but from the thought of which the imagination revolts. Not that there is any reason to anticipate such an insurrection as will result in the emancipation of the slaves, and the establishment of a black empire. A general insurrection in the southern states, might indeed destroy their cities, might desolate their plantations, might turn their rivers to blood; but to be finally successful, it must be delayed for more than two or three generations,—it must be delayed till the blacks have force enough to resist successfully the energies of the whole American people; for at any time within sixty or a hundred years, the beacon fires of insurrection would only rally the strength of the nation, and the ill-fated Africans, if not utterly exterminated, would be so nearly destroyed that they must submit to a bondage more hopeless than ever.

Cannot the people of the United States be roused to an effort for the partial, if not for the entire, removal of the evils attendant on the circumstances of our black population? We refer to *all* these evils; though they cannot all be enumerated, for their name is legion. We refer to the condition of all the blacks whether bond or free. They are wretched, and their wretchedness ought to be alleviated. They are dangerous to the community, and this danger ought to be removed. Their wretchedness arises not only from their bondage, but from their political and moral degradation. The danger is

not so much that we have a million and a half of slaves, as that we have within our borders nearly two millions of men who are necessarily any thing rather than loyal citizens—nearly two millions of ignorant and miserable beings who are banded together by the very same circumstances, by which they are so widely separated in character and in interest from all the citizens of our great republic. The question is, cannot the people of the United States be induced to do something effectual for the removal of these evils? Without doubt they can be roused to an effort; for in a nation so far under the influence of christian principle as ours, there is a spirit which will answer to the voice of benevolence when it pleads the cause of humanity. It did answer in England, when Wilberforce and Clarkson lifted up their cry against the wrongs of Africa; and the consequence of their unwearied labours has been the formal abolition of the slave-trade by every christian power in both continents, and such a total revolution in public sentiment, that all who are not immediately interested in the nefarious traffick are ready to denounce it as the most high-handed outrage that ever was practised by fraud and power against simplicity and weakness. If the philanthropists of America will summon up their energies to a like effort—if they will never cease to warn their fellow-citizens of the extent and nature of these evils—if they will properly set before the public the political and intellectual and moral degradation of the blacks, and the danger which results from this degradation;—the same spirit which answered to the plea of Wilberforce will answer them, and the effect of their labours will be seen in the sympathizing efforts of all the enlightened and benevolent. We doubt not that the public may be excited on this subject, and if excited they may put forth such an effort as will alleviate the evils in question, and long delay, if not utterly prevent, their final catastrophe. The excitement required is not a momentary, feverish, half delirious excitement, like that produced by the agitation of the Missouri question—it must be something more calm and permanent. It must not be a sudden torrent passing away with the cloud that gave it birth; but a river whose broad, deep, peaceful streams are supplied by perennial fountains, and whose pure waters, like the waters of Jordan, shall wash away from our national character this foul and loathsome leprosy.

But *what* shall be done? This excitement must have a definite object,—what shall that object be? what kind of effort is demanded? We answer, *first*, any effectual effort for the benefit of the blacks must be such as will unite the patriotic and benevolent, in all parts of the country. There is perhaps no subject which excites so much of what is called *sec-*

*tional* feeling, so much of jealousy at the south, so much of exultation at the north, and so much of indignant invective in all parts of the Union, as the subject before us, in any of its relations. But this feeling at the north and at the south, is equally unreasonable, not to say equally criminal. The difference in regard to slavery and a negro population, between New-England and Georgia, we owe not to ourselves, or to our fathers, but to the God who has placed our habitation where the climate forbade the introduction of Africans, and where the hard soil could be cultivated only by the hands of freemen. Had the rough hills, and the cold winds, and the long winters of New-England, been exchanged for the rich plains and the burning sun and the enervating breezes of Carolina, all the sacred principles of puritanism would not have prevented the introduction of slavery, at a time when hardly a man could be found in either hemisphere, to raise his voice against the enormity, and when England was determined to infect all her colonies with the debilitating and deadly poison. What occasion then can we have to exult over our fellow-citizens? It is as if the heir to an estate should exult in the poverty of his neighbour. It is as if the man in health should glory over his brother in sickness.— And it is with indignation that we sometimes see the editors of political journals, in one part of the country, attempting to kindle and cherish such feelings ;—for every such attempt excites and increases, and in some measure excuses, that techy sensibility, in respect to this subject, which the people of the south are always too ready to manifest. But still we are happy to believe, that notwithstanding all the vapouring of newspaper declaimers, the great majority of the northern people regard the matter, at least in times of calm reflection, with far more enlarged, liberal, national feelings, than is commonly imagined by their southern brethren. And we will even express our belief, that there is hardly any enterprise to which the militia of Vermont or Connecticut would march with more zeal, than to crush a servile rebellion, (if such an event should ever take place, with all its cruelties and horrors) in Virginia. The people of Maine belong to the same great community with the people of Georgia; and hence they desire at once the right and the duty of interfering to alleviate, and if possible to remove, an evil which affects the prosperity and safety of the whole American empire. The people of the south should know this, and if they once see their fellow-citizens engaging calmly and kindly in real efforts for the alleviation of this evil, their prejudices will be done away, and they will acknowledge the unseasonableness of their jealousies. If the people of New-England will talk less

of the guilt of slavery, and more of the means of counter-acting its political and moral tendencies ; or if, when they speak of its guilt, they would acknowledge that New-England is a partaker ; if they will remember that it was their ships and sailors that carried the Africans in chains across the ocean, and that there are now men among them who are living on " the price of blood."—men whose wealth was " earned" by " sinews bought and sold !"—if they will speak of this subject with the modesty, and think of it with the shame, which such remembrances are calculated to inspire, they may soon find that there are principles and schemes of enterprise in which the benevolent of all the states can unite :—And would not a national effort, for the removal of this national evil, do away local prejudices, and bind together the different parts of the Union, with a closer bond of national feeling ?

An effort for the benefit of the blacks, in which all parts of the country can unite, of course must not have the abolition of slavery for its immediate object. Nor may it aim directly at the instruction of the great body of the blacks.—In either case, the prejudices and terrors of the slave-holding States would be excited in a moment ; and with reason too, for it is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves. It requires no great skill to see that the moment you raise this degraded community to an intellectual existence, their chains will burst asunder like the fetters of Sampson, and they will stand forth in the might and dignity of manhood, and in all the terrors of a long injured people, thirsting for vengeance.

But, notwithstanding these restrictions, occasioned by the necessity of the case, and the danger of exciting jealousy, the effort in question must be a *great* effort—great in its conception and great in its details. We mean that there must be a magnificence in its immediate object, and an attractiveness in every step of its progress, which will not let it be forgotten or overlooked among the numberless enterprises of the age. There is a certain simple grandeur in the design of the Bible Society, which fills the whole mind of the beholder, and awakens the benevolent heart to ecstasy, as it contemplates the mighty scheme in all its relations. It is this which has united, in the holy undertaking, christians of every name and of every country, and it is this which will always unite them, till the design of the Bible Society shall attain its perfect accomplishment. The Missionary Society, with perhaps less of that imposing simplicity, in its place seizes on the attention and affections of the public, by the charm which is thrown over all its proceedings. Every new report of its



progress, every letter from a distant missionary, awakens in the supporters of the enterprise, a higher joy and a livelier interest. And it is this increasing brightness in the details of its progress, which will always make it fresh and beautiful to the benevolent eye, till 'the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord.' So any effort for the removal of the evils to which our attention has been directed, before it can become powerful and lasting, must have something of the same character. There must be a similar grandeur in its object to arrest the public attention ; and to keep up that attention, there must be the same interest thrown over the successive events of its history. Without the one, the great body of the people will not engage in the enterprise ; without the other, they will not maintain it.

We have asserted that the Colonization Society is the only institution which promises any thing great or effectual for the relief of our black population. We have examined the condition of that population, and have pointed out the characteristics of the effort which shall accomplish any thing for their improvement. To establish our assertion, it remains for us to show that the direct object of this Society is attainable ; and that the two characteristics above mentioned, belong to this scheme, and to this alone.

What other scheme, then, for the improvement of the blacks, is there before the public ? What other efforts are we exhorted to make ? What other projects do we hear of ? There are a few Sunday schools established for their benefit in our large towns ; and in some of our cities, the Africans have churches of their own, and tolerably well qualified ministers of their own. And more, to educate young men of colour for the work of the ministry among their brethren, there is, or there was, somewhere in the State of New-Jersey, an African seminary, with whose managers, funds, resources, students, instructors, and even local situation, the public at large have been, for three years past, about as well acquainted, as they are with the course of the Niger, or the police of Tombuctoo. But efforts of this kind, taken by themselves, hardly amount to any thing ; they do not in the least affect the essence of the evil ; and not only so, but by a great part of the slave holders they are considered dangerous, and therefore they can never become such as will unite the patriotic and benevolent in all parts of the country. The same remark will apply with at least equal force to the projects of "the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," as set forth in an "Address to the People of the United States," which now lies before us, and which con-

tains some calculations and suggestions that ought to be familiar to every mind.

If then, there is any hope of extensive good for these two millions of beings, it must be found in the plans proposed by the American Colonization Society. But before proceeding to examine how far this plan possesses the characteristics necessary to success, it is important to notice the objection, sometimes urged, that the establishment of a colony in Africa is impossible.

If a colony of free blacks cannot be established on the coast of Africa, it must be, either, 1st, because free blacks cannot be induced to go, which is false, for they have gone, and hundreds are waiting to go,—or, 2ndly, because when they arrive there, they cannot be defended from the natives, which is disproved by the late contest,—or, 3rdly, because the soil will not yield them support, which needs no answer to any man who will look into a book of travels,—or, 4thly, because they must be cut off by the insalubrity of the climate, which is contradicted by the experience of the settlers, and by the testimony of travellers. It is contradicted by the experience of the settlers; for since they have occupied their present station, they have been visited with no sweeping pestilence, excepting only the recent mortality among those sent out in the *Oswego*; the number of deaths among them has been no greater than the average mortality of the same class of people in America. It is contradicted by the testimony of travellers. If we had room for extracts, they might easily be collected from a variety of authors. The opinion of Lieutenant Stockton must suffice:—

“ We have had an interesting cruize on the coast, from the shoals of the Great River to Cape Palmas : It was during the most unhealthy season, and under circumstances not the most flattering. Being in a small vessel, we were often exposed to heavy rains, and occasionally encountered great fatigue.—Notwithstanding which, we have returned in good health, only regretting that our cruize was so short, and that we accomplished so little of that which we promised ourselves. We had the fever on board, but in every instance it yielded to the skill of our surgeons.” “ Under all these circumstances, I am bound to believe, (my conclusions, however, are deduced from impressions, rather than from unalterable opinions,) that the horror for that coast, the hue and cry about the African fever, and the noise about the tornadoes, are but little less than a fable, generated by policy; listened to, because wonderful; and propagated by the interested. As to the climate, it is true the air is warm, and I think a constant exposure to the sun, must be very debilitating. The thermo-

metrical observations of this vessel, do not show that the temperature of the air has ever been above eighty-five degrees, measured by Fahrenheit's thermometer; but as the country is seldom refreshed by a cool invigorating breeze, the heat is more uniform, and of longer duration, and from that cause, I think, arises its pestilence, and not from the immediate power of the sun.\* The heat is not beyond bearing for a while, but from its constancy must overcome any human constitution that is unwarily exposed to it during any length of time, without relief. The fever I think may be more readily avoided, and if taken, is not so dangerous, and may be more easily destroyed, than that which infects many places in our own country. The tornadoes, as I saw and felt them, are inconsiderable and harmless, in comparison with squalls met with on parts of the American coast, at particular seasons of the year. We may have been particularly favoured, and it is possible that all the dangers which persons are led to apprehend, do ordinarily possess that country. But I can assure you, the fever has not assumed a living shape; the winds are not saturated with pestilence; even on the coast of Africa, oxygen forms a component part of the atmospheric air, and to inhale it is not certain death. We, (for I think I am speaking the sentiments of my companions,) respired as freely, and enjoyed generally as good health, as any country could have supplied us with. After examination and reflection, I honestly believe that the climate presents all those obstacles which are the natural productions of a tropical soil, uncleared and uncultivated, but that they will yield to proper precautions; and that nothing can prevent the consummation of your wishes, but limited means, bad counsels, or feeble efforts."

It is not pretended that the climate of Africa is as healthy to a native of Connecticut, as the country in which he was born. We say it may be compared in this respect, with other tropical countries. Is Montserado more unhealthy than New-Orleans or Havana? Yet these places have been colonized—and colonized with men, whose descendants it is proposed to carry back to the climate, to which, the constitution which they have inherited from their fathers, is adapted. Is it *impossible* to colonize Africa? And did the God of nature design that that continent, with all the luxuriance of its soil, and all the variety of its productions, should forever remain a wilderness? The happy inhabitants of Sierra Leone may give the answer.

\* Cape Montserado, it will be remembered, is "steep and elevated towards the sea," which "affords it the advantage of the sea-breeze."

With these facts before us then, we feel no hesitation in saying that this enterprise is practicable; and we say too, that it possesses the two characteristics already described, as essential to any permanent and effectual effort in behalf of the blacks. It is an enterprise in which *all parts of the country can unite*. The grand objection to every other effort is, that it excites the jealousies and fears of the south. But here is an effort in which the southern people are the first to engage, and which numbers many of their most distinguished men are among its advocates and efficient supporters. But it promotes the *interests of the south*. True; and must not every plan of the kind, which promises to do any good, favour the interests of that part of the country where the evil to be remedied presses, with the most alarming weight? And does not this plan promote the interests of the *north* too? Are there not thousands of blacks in New-England? And do they add any thing to the good order and happiness of society? Or rather, are they not, and must they not continue to be, as a body, ignorant and vicious, adding more to the poor rates of the parishes in which they reside, than they do to the income of the government? And shall a cause, to which the good people of the south offer not only money, but in not a few instances, the freedom of their slaves, languish because the people of the north refuse to come forward with their good wishes, and their prayers, and their most liberal contributions. It will not. We dare to predict that the time is not far distant, when the north and the south shall unite in this work of charity, and when every new report of the prosperity of our colony, will awaken the same joy in every benevolent heart from Portland to Savannah.

This leads us to remark on the second characteristic, namely, that it is a *great* enterprise. There is a grandeur in the conception of it like the grandeur of the Bible Society; and if properly supported, every step of its progress must be attended by the sympathies and prayers of all who feel or pray for the missionary. Said Samuel J. Mills to his companion, "Can we engage in a nobler effort? We go to make freemen of slaves. We go to lay the foundation of a free and independent empire on the coast of poor degraded Africa. It is confidently believed by many of our best and wisest men, that if the plan proposed succeeds, it will ultimately be the means of exterminating slavery in our country. It will eventually redeem and emancipate a million and a half of wretched men. It will transfer to Africa the blessings of religion and civilization; and Ethiopia will soon stretch out her hands unto God."

Such is the object. To comprehend in any degree its

magnitude, we must look at it in its relation to the blacks of our own country, in its relation to the slave trade, and in its relation to the civilization of Africa. We might add the connexion it must have with American commerce, not only by affording a station at which our Indiamen might take in water and provision, in some important respects more conveniently than at the Cape Verde Islands; but also by opening to our merchants, at no distant period, a lucrative trade in all the productions of the climate. But we can only take the rapid glance at this topic, which is presented in the following extract from the third report.

“Has not the single port of Sierra Leone exported, in one year, since the abolition of the slave trade by England, a greater value than all western Africa, a coast of several thousand miles, yielded, exclusive of its people, for a like period anterior to that event? When this abominable traffick shall have been utterly exterminated; when the African labourer can toil secure from the treachery of his neighbour, and the violence of the man-stealer; that continent will freight, for legitimate trade, those ships which now carry thither chains, fetters, and scourges, to return home with the bones, the sinews, the blood, and the tears of her children. Her gold, her ivory, her beautiful dyes, her fragrant, and precious gums, her healing plants and drugs, the varied produce of her now forsaken fields and lonely forests, will be brought by a joyous and grateful people, to the nations who, once their plunderers and persecutors, will have at length become their protectors, friends, and allies.”

Let us look more particularly at the Colonization Society, first, in relation to the blacks of our own country. Leaving slavery and its subjects for the moment entirely out of view, there are in the United States 238,000 blacks denominated free, but whose freedom confers on them, we might say, no privilege but the privilege of being more vicious and miserable than slaves can be. Their condition we have attempted to describe, and the description may be repeated in two words, irremediable degradation. Now, is there not to the benevolent mind something noble in the thought of ameliorating the condition and elevating the character of these 238,000? The Colonization Society will do this. It will open for these men an asylum, whither they can flee from the scoffs and the scorn to which they are exposed. It will restore them to a real freedom in the land of their fathers. It will give them all the privileges of humanity in the land for which their Creator designed them. And should it be unable to confer on all, the benefits it proposes, still it would do not a little for their improvement. By elevating the character of those

who were transported to Africa, it would elevate in some degree the character of those who remained. It would set before them the strongest motives to industry, and honesty, and the acquisition of an honourable reputation. And here would be room for the other branches of benevolent exertion;—here would be opportunity for Sabbath schools and all the apparatus of religious instruction. And is this a work to be overlooked or despised?

But we have a million and a half of slaves. The black cloud almost covers our southern hemisphere. It is spreading—and extending—and every hour its darkness is increasing. Now to dissipate this cloud; to let in light, the pure unmingled light of freedom, on our whole land—the prospect is too wide for our vision, the object too vast for our comprehension. Let us look then with a nearer view at a less magnificent object. There are men in the southern states, who long to do something effectual for the benefit of their slaves, and would gladly emancipate them, did not prudence and compassion alike forbid such a measure, of which it is difficult to say whether it would injure most the comfort and happiness of the slaves, or the welfare of the community. Now to provide a way for these men to obey the promptings of humanity, while they at the same time confer an equal blessing on the slaves and on the community—is not this a great design? And if, inspired by their example, another and another master should emancipate his slaves; and if in this way the subject should come to be discussed with new views and feelings; and if emancipation, no longer useless and dangerous, should be no longer unpopular; and if the voice of public opinion at the south should thus, by degrees, declare itself louder and louder against the practice of slavery; till at last the system should be utterly abolished; till not “a slave” should “contaminate” our soil; till Africa, abused degraded Africa should stretch out her hands and pray for America;—if this should be so, what a triumph would be achieved—what a glory would be shed on our country in the view of admiring nations. No wonder, then, that faith should be staggered, and benevolence overwhelmed at the prospect of a consummation so magnificent.

But the supposition of entire success in this plan, though it cannot be looked at without scepticism, is not absurd. The Society have from the first anticipated the co-operation of the national and state governments. The states of Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee, have expressed their approbation of the design, and have requested the national government to engage in it. The first of these states, it is believed, stands ready, as soon as Congress shall begin the work, to lend the most efficient aid in colonizing her own coloured population.

Indeed we may say, that in all the northern part of that section of the country, the necessity of a grand and general effort is beginning to be felt, certainly by all intelligent reflecting men. If, then, the government of the United States should begin the work, and if the governments of the slave-holding states should, one after another, follow on, who shall set bounds to what might be accomplished. By the calculations in the second report, which are certainly moderate, it appears that 250,000 dollars would transport the annual increase of the free blacks; and 2,000,000, or a capitation tax of less than twenty-five cents on all the citizens of the United States, would transport the whole annual increase of bond and free. "The amount of duties collected on foreign distilled spirits, during each of the first six years of Mr. Jefferson's administration, would defray the sum total of this expense, and furnish half a million of dollars annually, to extinguish the principal, the capital stock, of the heaviest calamity that oppresses this nation." "And were the same duties charged in the United States, as in Great Britain, on the consumption of this fatal poison of human happiness, their net proceeds would, in less than a century, purchase and colonize in Africa, every person of colour within the United States." 2 Report, p. 34.

Thus these two evils—the greatest that our country has ever known—might be made to counteract and destroy each other.

But, whether such expectations are chimerical or not, there is an immense object to be gained by the efforts of the Colonization Society in the entire suppression of the slave trade. This horrible traffic, notwithstanding its abolition by every civilized nation in the world, except Portugal and Brazil, and notwithstanding the decided measures of the British and American governments, is still carried on to almost as great an extent as ever. Not less than 60,000 slaves, according to the most moderate computation, are carried from Africa annually. This trade is carried on by Americans to the American states. The assertion has been made in Congress by Mr. Mercer, of Virginia, that these horrible cargoes are smuggled into our southern states to a deplorable extent. Five years ago, Mr. Middleton, of South Carolina, declared it to be his belief "that 13,000 Africans were annually smuggled into our southern states." Mr. Wright, of Virginia, estimated the number at 15,000. And the cruelties of this trade which always surpassed the powers of the human mind to conceive, are greater now than they ever were before. We might, but we will not, refer to stories, recent stories, of which the very recital would be torment. The only way in which this trade can be speedily and effectually suppressed.

is the establishment of colonial stations in Africa, which will guard and dry up the fountains of the evil. There is no slave trade in the vicinity of Sierra Leone. Soon there will be none in the vicinity of Montserado. And when colonies shall be established at proper intervals along the coast, the slave-trade will exist only in the memory of indignant humanity. And is not this an object for benevolence to aim at?

But this is not all. The colony is to be a means of civilizing and christianizing Africa. Hitherto the extension of civilization, and, since Christianity was established in the Roman Empire, the extension of Christianity has been almost exclusively by colonies. Whence came the civilization of Greece? It was brought by colonies from Egypt. How was Italy civilized? By colonies from Greece. How was Europe civilized? By the Roman military colonies. Whence came the civilization of America? And is not that universal spirit of improvement which is springing up in Hindoostan occasioned, more or less directly, by the British conquests there, which have poured in thousands of Englishmen, who are in effect colonizing India? Two centuries hence the little band, who are now cultivating their fields and building their houses at Montserado, and spreading over the wilderness around them a strange aspect of life and beauty, may be remembered by the thousands of their descendants, with the same emotions with which the little band who landed at Plymouth two centuries ago, are now remembered by the thousands of New England. We do not fear to say, that to the friends of missions, the Colonization Society presents a loud and imperative claim. The advantage of the Moravian missions and of the modern missionary establishments in savage countries, is that they are in substance, little colonies. If you could carry from this country to the Sandwich Islands, a thousand civilized and educated natives, would you not think you had done much for Owhyhee? This is what can be done, and must be done, for Africa.

And will there not be an interest in the progress of the work? Will it not be delightful to watch the advances of the morning; to see the light breaking in on one dark habitation of cruelty, and another; to see the shadows of heathenism fleeing away, and the delusions which have so long terrified the ignorant pagans, vanishing; to see one tribe after another coming to the light of Zion, and to the brightness of her rising; to see Ethiopia waking, and rising from the dust, and looking abroad on the day, and stretching out her hands to God, and the day light still spreading and kindling and brightening, till all the fifty millions of Africa are brought into the "glorious light and liberty of the sons of God!" Is there



not enough in this to arrest the attention of the public, and to keep it fixed on this object with an untiring interest, till all shall be accomplished ?

The Niger's sullen waves  
Have heard the tidings,—and the orient sun  
Beholds them rolling on to meet his light  
In joyful beauty.—Tombut's spiry towers  
Are bright without the brightness of the day,  
And Houssa wakening from his age-long trance  
Of woe, amid the desert, smiles to hear  
The last faint echo of the blissful sound.

A few words more, and we have done. We had intended to notice one or two things in the management of this Society, which might be amended. One is, they have not kept up a constant communication with the public. The monthly reports of their treasury have not been published ; and we have known very little of their proceedings but from their annual reports. Another deficiency appears to be—perhaps we judge incorrectly—a want of that energy and business-like regularity of operation which so characterize some of our northern benevolent institutions. Generally their colonists have arrived at the most unhealthy seasons of the year. We the more willingly curtail our notice of these defects, because we think we can see an evident improvement. They have issued proposals for publishing a periodical work, which we hope will be well supported by the public. And they have resolved, and they have called on the public to assist in executing the resolution, that if possible they will send three vessels with emigrants to Liberia this fall. We do earnestly hope that this call will be answered, and that the Board will be enabled to carry this design into execution, and by sending their settlers to Africa at the healthiest, instead of the most unhealthy seasons of the year, to ascertain whether the climate is actually so deadly as benevolent slave-traders and the other enemies of the scheme are fond of representing. The late unfortunate intelligence from Montserado, discouraging as it may be to the timid and heartless, ought to invigorate the friends of Africa. It has proved, what every body knew before, and what no man in his senses ever presumed to deny, that the climate of that coast, like other tropical climates, is dangerous to foreigners arriving at a certain season of the year. It has proved too that, whatever may be thought of one of the agents of the colony, the other is a man of sense and integrity—‘a man of business, and one who knows how to command.’

The public have expected from this plan, we will not say too great, but too immediate results. For ourselves we expect to see repeated untoward events.—We do not anticipate any thing magnificent for twenty or fifty years to come. But christian benevolence is gifted to look into futurity.

Finally, if any thing is done, it ought to be done *quickly*.— If there are christians among us who intend to favour this object, let them do it without delay. We would venture to suggest to ministers of all denominations the propriety of laying before their people, sometime in the course of this month, the claims of an object so important to our country and to the human race, and soliciting their contributions. Let it be known on earth, let it be known in heaven, that America is awake on this subject—that her sons of every name and of every opinion are doing something for the emancipation and salvation of injured Africa.

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F.

*Extract from the first Annual Report of the New-York Auxiliary Colonization Society, 1823.*

It is unnecessary to dwell, in detail, upon the intermediate history of the Colony. The annual Reports of the parent Institution contain the amplest information on this subject, and are filled with a recital of the most important incidents in relation to its origin and progress. To the lover of bold adventure, as well as to the philanthropist and the Christian, we recommend the perusal of these interesting documents. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state, that, notwithstanding the dangers and the difficulties necessarily attending the planting of an infant settlement on a remote and barbarous shore, the colony still exists and flourishes. According to the latest accounts, the number of settlers is about two hundred, under the superintendence of two agents, of acknowledged character and abilities. The misunderstanding, which at first existed between them and the natives, has been satisfactorily adjusted, and every thing seems propitious to the growth and perpetuity of the establishment.

Such is a brief sketch of what has been accomplished under the auspices of the parent Society. To aid in the execution of a plan, so magnificent in its design, and so benevolent in its object, this auxiliary was formed. It has already existed for six years, and though less has been done by it than was either wished or expected by the friends of colonization, yet the Managers feel confident that its formation and continued existence have not been without their use. Although it has thus far contributed but little to the pecuniary resources of the Society, the Managers flatter themselves that it may have been the means of keeping alive, in this section of our country, a sympathy for the general object, which, it is hoped, will ere long pervade every portion of the community. Not-

withstanding the open hostility of some, the skepticism of others, and the cold indifference of a still greater number, the Managers are proud to record their firm and unalterable conviction in favour of the great cause in which they are enlisted. They believe it to be a project, not merely practicable, but pregnant with the greatest blessings to humanity. To this country it offers the only possible means of gradually ridding ourselves of a mighty evil, and of obliterating the foulest stain upon our nation's honour. To those who emigrate, it offers an asylum in the land of their fathers, where they may stand forth in the character of men, and enjoy the rights and privileges of freemen. To Africa, it offers the suppression of the slave trade, while it presents in bold perspective the brightest prospects of future civilization and refinement. If this unfortunate portion of our globe is ever to be regenerated in its intellectual and moral character, there is no question that it will have to be the result of efforts foreign to itself. All history proves that no people were ever redeemed from ignorance and barbarism, except through the agency of a nation already civilized.

If such be the fact, how immensely does the establishment of this Colony swell in interest, when viewed in its relations to Africa! It is no extravagant supposition, that, if success attends the present enterprise, colonies will ere long be found established in abundance along the coast of Africa, and that through them, civilization, science, and christianity, will pour their blessings over a suffering and degraded continent. It is impossible to believe, for one moment, that a plan which promises such splendid results will be suffered to languish by the American public. The countenance and patronage already extended to the infant settlement by the government of the United States, shows that the object is and ought to be a *national one*. The Managers entertain the hope, that ere long this must become a general sentiment throughout our country, and that every heart must be awakened to the claims of this institution.

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*The following calculations are from the New York Statesman.*

Emigrants usually consist of young people. Let the Society aid none but such, and equal numbers of males and females; females between the age of 18 and 28 years, males between 20 and 30 years. As the children of such parents would all be young, most of them under three years, and as when under that age their removal would cost but little with their parents, such children need not be estimated. Let the society aid 6000 annually of this class. between 18

and 30 years of age, and the population at the end of ten years will be, making all allowances, at least 100,000 less than it would have been, had none been removed. This will appear, if we consider how large a portion of the increase will spring from this class. Allowing for deaths, it would be a low estimate to say their numbers would double in the time.\* But estimating their increase only at two-thirds their number, and it will amount to 100,000 in ten years. By the last census, the number of free people of colour was 233,398, and the increase from 1810, is a little less than 47,000. At the same rate of increase, the number in 1830, will be some less than 293,000, if none are removed. Call it 293,000, and suppose the 6000 a year to be removed, and deduct the number with their estimated increase, estimated at 100,000, and it leaves 193,000. At the same rate of increase, and the same deduction the next ten years, the number will be 142,000 in 1840: 80,000 in 1850, being less than the number which would be removed the next ten years; the removing 6000 a year amounting to the same as the removal of 100,000 once in ten years. All, therefore, but the aged, would be removed in less than forty years. But the rate of increase of those who remain after the first ten years, considering the class that is removed, would be less by considerable the next ten; so that although four years are nearly gone since the first census, if the work were commenced this year, they would all be removed within forty years.

The expense, if it were all met by the society, and they were removed to Africa, would not exceed \$360,000 annually, and would probably be less. But as many might be removed to Hayti, as one-fifth would defray their own expense, the expense would be greatly reduced. I have put the rate of expense the same as Paul Cuffee estimated it, who carried out the first colonists that left our country for Africa. Of 38 whom he carried out, 8 bore their own expenses, which is more than one-fifth, and he wrote Mr. Mills that they could be carried out for \$60 each.

Vessels of 300 tons burthen might be fitted up so as to transport comfortably 250, and would make with ease two voyages in a year. But we will suppose they make two trips the year, and transport only 200 at a time, it would require but 15 vessels to be employed. The yearly expense of these vessels for charter and stores for the 200 passengers, allowing the passage out to be six weeks, will be \$192,000,

\*Suppose these 6000 to be parents, and that 1500 children are born annually, and that parents and children die annually at the rate of one out of forty, and there will be remaining, at the end of ten years, of the 60,000 parents and their children, upwards of 121,000. It is therefore too low to call it 100,000, making all allowances.

leaving \$168,000 to meet other expenses. Vessels of 300 tons can be chartered in this port, to make a voyage to Africa and back, all the expenses of the crew and their supplies included, for \$3500 to \$4500. Say the cost of vessel is \$4000, the supplies necessary for 200 passengers, estimated at \$2 a week each for six weeks' voyage, \$2400, the cost of one voyage, will be \$6400; two voyages \$12,800; making the expense of transporting the 6000 in 15 vessels \$192,000. But this expense would be much reduced by freight back, or by chartering the vessels only for the outward voyage, and by engaging with the same owner for several voyages. The expense would be much diminished as the colony increased, and trade commenced and increased between this and the colony. Coloured people too could be employed as transporters, and would be able to do it at a less rate than whites, as they have little share in other commerce. When the colony had become established and inviting, the spirit of emigration among them would be aroused, and they would seek out new places to settle; such as Sierra Leone, the south of Africa and the east, Madagascar, Hayti, and Columbia for mulattoes. Thousands would go yearly to these various places—thousands would be seen seeking employment to gain the means of emigrating, impelled to it by the powerful motives of liberty and property. It is only necessary for a few of their own colour, in whom they can confide, to return to them from some colony or country, with the report of having found an inviting land of equality and comfortable livelihood; and all this spirit of emigration would be aroused, all this would be seen. This is proved by the fact, that when Paul Cuffee returned, at least two thousand, in the vicinity of Boston, were desirous to have him carry them out to Sierra Leone; it is confirmed also, by the recent fact, that 100 immediately offered their names to go to Montserado, after Mr. Waring returned in August, at Petersburg, Virginia: and corroborated still farther by the fact, that the Society, notwithstanding all the disasters of their colony, have found no difficulty in obtaining colonists.

How soon then and how easy might a degraded people be exalted to the rights of men, a growing empire be founded in Africa, Africa receive the blessings of civilization and christianity, and be delivered from the horrid barbarities of the slave trade, and our own country from an unhappy race, neither bond nor free, who though among us are not of us, and instead of being a source of strength to the nation, enfeeble and endanger it. How soon might all this be done, if the nation would but listen to the voice of interest and humanity, and commence the work!

“Let the same process,” say the managers of the New York society, “be adopted with the whole black population, and remove 30,000 yearly, and the whole will be removed within 50 years, allowing the rate of increase to diminish one per cent. every ten years, which it certainly would, considering the class that is removed. And the yearly expense, if wholly borne by the society, will not exceed ONE MILLION EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. But it would be diminished about one-fifth by what the emigrants would furnish themselves, and would be furnished them by owners of slaves who were colonized. That is, it would cost the nation less than one and a half millions to deliver itself from an evil that forebodes to be worse to our nation hereafter than British oppression was before the revolution, and to gain a glory more triumphant than that of our independence, as it would be less selfish in its character. And it can be gained without paying the bitterest part of the price, in conflict and blood. Let then the “debasement legacy of our ancestors immortalize their posterity” of this age by its removal.”

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F.

*Extract of a letter from Rev. Loring D. Dewey.*

New York, February 18, 1824.

DEAR SIR: I last night returned to this city, having been gone six weeks longer than I anticipated, four weeks of which I impute to the excessive bad weather and sickness, being obliged to lie by nearly a week by a severe cold. Wishing to pass and re-pass the Hudson, in order to visit the principal towns each side, I was several times detained by its impassable state. Very rainy and muddy weather not only prevented meetings, but retarded my progress from place to place very much. It has in several respects been a bad season for my business. I was a fortnight longer in getting up the Society in Albany, in consequence of bad weather preventing meetings, and the Greek cause, and a little political fear too, concerning the Presidential election. But it was so important to form a Society in Albany, that I felt it must be formed, or I must give up all hopes of doing any thing in this State; and my experience since has shown me, if I had failed then it would have been labour and time almost spent in vain, to have prosecuted my agency elsewhere. I informed you from Albany that the Greek cause absorbed almost all the cash, and very much of the interest. But I am not certain that it has not compelled me to take the best course in the end. As I concluded in consequence not to ask for their money at

once, but to come and hear me, and then afterwards if they saw fit, aid the object. I obtained many more to hear me, and have always left the plan, with fair prospects of aid hereafter. I have found too a great deal of prejudice, and ignorance. To do away this prejudice and the ignorance that prevailed was necessary first, and this is the most that I have done, except the organization of several respectable Auxiliaries, and this has been done to a considerable extent. For this purpose the N. Y. Auxiliary Society's Report has been very useful. Many individuals who were opposed to the Society, because they supposed it a scheme of the slave-holders to get rid of the free blacks and their surplus slaves, or supposed all the colonists died as fast as they arrived in Africa, (and these you know have been the constant representations of the papers, before they read this Report,) afterwards became the warm supporters of its cause. I have been in many instances exceedingly gratified with the change that has taken place. One man stated in the meeting, convened to take measures to aid the Society, that when he first received the Report, he determined not to read it, and did not for some time; but at length he casually took it up and read a little, became interested, and now, said he, I not only feel interested, and disposed to aid this cause, but I feel it my duty to do it. I could relate similar anecdotes. I am persuaded, therefore, that although I have obtained little money, my time has been usefully spent in this town. Societies were actually organized, or in process for organization, when I left the plans, in sixteen towns, and fair prospects of their formation in three or four more. Besides this, I have sent Reports and Circulars to a number of other towns in the State. That I have not been idle is certain. Whether I have laboured to good effect must yet be determined. I, however, can say without a doubt if your Society will fit out an expedition from this port or Albany next season, these Societies will readily meet the expense. I trust it will be done.

Yours, with respect,

L. D. DEWEY.

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G.

*Letter from Rev. William McKenney, accompanying his Report.*

Georgetown, D. C. January 19, 1824.

GENTLEMEN :—The Report which accompanies this, exhibits a brief outline of my proceedings, during the time I was engaged in forming societies auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

As stated in that Report, I think you may confidently calculate on receiving, at least, one thousand dollars from Kent, Queen Anne's, Talbot, and Dorchester counties ; and should the reports from the Colony, continue favourable, the impressions already made of the practicability of the scheme, will be deepened, and the efforts and the means to carry it on, will increase in a corresponding ratio.

The scheme is looked upon, in those counties, as an extraordinary stride in the political and moral march of our country, essentially important to its domestic tranquillity, and equally interesting and important to the free people of colour, whose happiness and elevation to the enjoyment of all the natural and the social rights of man, are closely interwoven with the whole plan, and dependent on its consummation.— This view of the subject has excited a general interest in the cause, and I am happy in having it in my power to assure you, that, among its warmest friends, are many gentlemen of the highest order in society, alike distinguished for their political foresight and humanity. They take another view of the subject, which cannot fail to strike every man's common sense, viz : Colonization in Africa is all-important to the entire destruction of the slave trade.

The magnanimous efforts of our own country, in conjunction with Great Britain, to effect the annihilation of this most inhuman traffick, will doubtless do much : but to finish the work, other and additional means are necessary—means calculated by natural process, to draw the attention of the natives, to the arts and blessings of civilized life. This done, the great work is finished, and Africa is free. Is it not obvious to the slightest observer of human nature and human operations, that there is the most perfect adaptation in the plan of colonization to this end ?

It is also my duty to remark upon another fact, which came under my own observation ; and I do it with great pleasure, because it is in direct refutation of imputations, cast upon the southern friends of the Society, involving the purity of their motives. Holders of slaves, expressed their ardent desire for the success of the scheme, assigning as one of their reasons, their belief, that it opened the only way that could be devised for gradual emancipation, without injury to the domestic relations of Society. Such are among its most zealous patrons on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and as the parent society shall receive means to widen its sphere of operations, so as to receive their people, they will be among the foremost to commence the work of gradual emancipation. Under present circumstances, it is almost entirely out of the question. A conviction of this lamentable state of things,



has forced itself upon many a benevolent heart on the Eastern Shore of Maryland; and such unhesitatingly say, if the Colonization Society shall fail in its efforts to transport the free coloured people to the land of their ancestors, the day of emancipation is entirely closed. *But it cannot fail!*—It involves considerations of too much magnitude and interest to the *nation*, and proposes the only effectual remedy to an evil, which has not only scourged and desolated Africa, but has also introduced into the bosom of our own country, the elements of confusion, distrust, immorality, and destruction. It cannot fail, because it is calculated to insure, (in part, at least,) not only the future prosperity of all the domestic relations of this country, but also to effect the intellectual and moral renovation of Africa, whose claims upon America and the nations of Europe, are marked with a peculiarity unknown to the demands of any other people.

The only four counties I passed through in Maryland, are named, and they will, as already observed, bear their due proportion of the necessary expenses of the parent institution; and, I am persuaded, there is not one county on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which will fail to unite in the noblest effort ever made by America, to extend the blessings of civilized life, and enlarge the sphere of those operations, which are essentially necessary to the consummation of heaven's highest purpose, viz: "peace on earth and good will to man." With considerations of respect, I am, gentlemen, your ob't servant,

W. McKENNEY.

*To the Committee of Managers }  
of the A. C. S. Washington. }*

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H.

## COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

On Friday evening last, 5th March, 1824, the Society met in the Capitol, according to adjournment, when the President being absent, WM. H FITZHUGH, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the chair, and the Rev. R. R. GURLEY was appointed Secretary.

General HARPER, from the committee appointed on the 20th of last month, presented a report, which was read, as follows:

"The committee to whom was referred the resolution relative to a memorial to Congress, with instructions "to inquire into the expediency of an immediate application to Congress, and the nature and extent of the aid to be asked for," having had the subject under their serious consideration, have agreed to the following report:

“The resolution referred to them purports “that a respectful memorial be presented to Congress, on the part of this Society, stating the progress that has been made in establishing a colony of free people of colour at LIBERIA, on the southwest coast of Africa; the difficulties that have been surmounted in the progress of this establishment, its present situation, its prospects of ultimate success, and the benefits which it may be expected to produce; and praying for aid from the national government in the further prosecution of this great national undertaking.” The task assigned to the committee is to inquire into the expediency of such an application to Congress, at this time; and into the nature and extent of the aid to which the application, if now proper, ought to be directed.

“Of the expediency of now making such an application to Congress, the committee, after very full and attentive consideration, entertain no doubt. It seems to them very clear, and they believe is universally admitted, that no means which individuals, or any association of individuals, however numerous or zealous, can command, are adequate to the accomplishment of any thing more, than to prove the practicability of this enterprise, to shew the course which must be pursued in its successful prosecution, and to open and prepare the way for its accomplishment. This, your committee apprehend, has been already affected, by the efforts of this Society and its auxiliaries, aided by the liberal and enlightened measures adopted by the President of the United States, under the authority of Congress. A territory, probably the best and most suitable for the purpose which the whole southwestern coast of Africa contains, has been procured. A colony has been actually established, and now subsists; the hostility of the neighbouring tribes has been successfully resisted and overcome; and very considerable progress has been made in conciliating and securing their amity, their good will, and their confidence. Land has been distributed to the colonists, who have made much progress in erecting houses, clearing and enclosing fields, and preparing for a cultivation, not only sufficient for their own support, but for the supply of future emigrants. A species of government by consent has been established, in which the colonists have a share, and which has hitherto been found sufficient for the maintenance of security and order; and, above all, it has been found that, to the African race, for which this asylum is intended, the climate is so well suited, that far less mortality has taken place at this establishment, than usually attends new settlements, in our own or any other country. It is also proved, that free people of colour are ready and desirous to migrate in far greater num-

bers than the means at the disposal of the Society enable it to convey.

"All this, as the committee apprehend, incontestibly proves, not only the practicability, but the facility, of colonizing the free people of colour, in the place which has been chosen, and on the plan which has been adopted.

"If nothing were in view but the benefit of the individuals themselves, who are thus rescued from a state of hopeless degradation, where by far the greater part of them are worse than useless to themselves and to the community, however humane and praiseworthy the object must be admitted to be, it would possess little of a public character, which could give it a claim to the countenance of government. But it cannot, as the committee think, be denied, and ought not to be overlooked, that this enterprise touches ourselves, in national points of the most vital importance. They are too obvious to require particular explanation here, and too urgent to need enforcement. They require that the whole mass of free persons of colour, and those who may become such with the consent of their owners, should be progressively removed from among us, as fast as their own consent can be obtained, and as the means can be found for their removal and for their proper establishment in Africa. Nothing short of this progressive but complete removal, as the committee believe, can accomplish the great objects of this measure, in relation to the security, prosperity, and happiness of the United States.

"On the greatness of the number thus to be removed, and the rapidity with which, from various causes, it increases, the committee do not think it necessary to enlarge. It is well known to be far too great, to be sensibly affected by any resources which an association of individuals can command. To the nation, and to the nation alone, must we look for adequate means of accomplishing such a work.

"This the committee regard as an undertaking strictly and essentially national, in which, consequently, the national resources ought to be employed. The evil to be removed particularly affects, indeed, particular parts of the nation : but affects the rest by its necessary consequences, and is, therefore, a national evil. In the body politic, as in the natural body, a part cannot be diseased without endangering the whole, and a gangrene is not the less fatal, because it commences in the foot, or the hand. The governments, indeed, of those states which are most immediately affected by this evil, may justly be expected to do something ; but, as the evil is strictly national in its character, the general government ought to be looked to, in the first place, and mainly for the remedy.

“ These reasons have led the committee to conclude, that application ought to be made to the national government. They are aware that doubts exist, in quarters entitled to the highest respect, about the expediency of making this application at present. But, after a careful consideration of that point, they are of opinion, that an immediate application is advisable. The time has come, when, the way being found to be practicable, opened, and prepared, the national government may, with propriety, enter on this great career. It has also come, when almost all that can be effected by individual resources, has been effected.

“ The committee would also remark, that, although it may be doubted whether, on a subject so vast in its consequences and connections, and so new, Congress will act immediately—this does not, in their opinion, furnish any sufficient reason for delaying the application. Time must be allowed for viewing the subject in all its bearings, for reflecting on it maturely, and for public opinion to receive and communicate the proper impulse. Nothing, the committee apprehend, will tend so effectually to produce and to hasten these desirable results, as full discussions and explanations of the whole subject in Congress for which the present moment seems particularly favourable. They are, therefore, of opinion, that it is advisable to make the application during the present session, and at as early a period as practicable.

“ On the nature and extent of the aid for which it would be proper to ask, more doubt may exist. But the committee are of opinion, after much reflection, that Congress ought to be requested to take under its protection the colony already planted ; to make provision for its increase by suitable appropriations of money, and by authorizing the President to make further purchases of land from the natives, as it may be wanted : to provide for its security, internal and external, by such regulations for its temporary government, as may be deemed advisable, and by authorizing the President to employ a suitable naval force on the coast, as well for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade, as for the purpose of impressing the natives with respect for the establishment ; and to make provision for the purchase, from time to time, of suitable territories, on the south-western coast of Africa, for the establishment of other similar colonies, as fast as they can be formed, with a due regard to the national resources, and to the public good.

“ It will, also, as your committee apprehend, be proper to pray for an incorporation of the Society, within this district, with proper powers and privileges, as an efficient mean of promoting these important objects, and for a continuation of

the appropriation for the restoration of recaptured Africans to their own country, and their support and protection there.

"All of which is respectfully submitted."

It was, thereupon, resolved, that the said report be approved, adopted, and published, and that a memorial, accordingly, be prepared by the same committee, signed by the President, and presented to Congress, on the part of the Society.

R. R. GURLEY, *Secretary.*

J.

Baltimore, February 18th, 1824.

GENTLEMEN : I have the pleasure to inform you of my arrival at this place on the 10th inst. in the schooner *Fidelity*, in thirty-seven days from Rio Pongas, and fifty-nine days from Montserado.

I left the colony in a state of prosperity—the lots were surveyed and allotted to the people in August, but the threatening aspect of the natives made it necessary to leave our agricultural pursuits, and attend to the defence of our colony, which occupied our time until November.

I was much disappointed in the effects produced by distributing the lots to each person. I had fondly looked forward to this era as a period which would put a stop to the dissensions and murmurs of the people, who have always been complaining that this had not been effected. But when this was done, they clearly demonstrated the principle which had really actuated them from the first. Instead of accepting them, and going to work to improve them, the old settlers to a man, and some of the brig *Strong's* cargo, refused to accept the lots, and became very turbulent. For this course many reasons were assigned—some that the society had deceived them; that they went out expecting to govern themselves, and had no idea of having white Agents, with various other reasons, which I reserve for a future communication.

Those whom I took out last, with the exception of two, accepted their lots, and shewed a disposition to be orderly and industrious. They were all recovering their health, and beginning to labour on their lots.

The plantations were allotted to such as had accepted their lots, and from the disposition manifested by them, I think they will soon be handsomely improved.

I have thus accomplished the objects which I had originally in view when I accepted the appointment as Agent of your society, which was to procure a situation for this unfortunate race of people on the Coast of Africa, and to see each one settled on lands of his own, where, by a course of honest industry,

he might procure a comfortable subsistence, and raise himself and posterity from that state of degradation in which he must ever be placed in this country, to a state of independence and happiness.

This being accomplished, I beg leave to resign my appointment as agent of your society, and I do hereby resign the same.

Indisposition since my arrival has been the cause of my not communicating to you more fully, and at an earlier date.

I have the honour to be, your most obedient humble servant,  
E. AYRES.

*Messrs. the Committee of the Col. Soc'y.*

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K.

*Dr. E. Ayres to the Abolition Society, Philadelphia.*

Washington, March 11th, 1824.

SIR : I received a letter from you dated March 3d, 1823, concerning a letter to King Shaker, of Gallenos, respecting a grandson of the King, now under the care of the Committee of the Abolition Society of Philadelphia.

I took the first opportunity after my arrival in Africa to send your communication to him ; much gratified to have it in my power to shew the Africans that there were white men in the world, who were actuated by very different motives from those with whom they had been in the habit of dealing. They have been accustomed to look upon the character of a white man, as a combination of all that debases human nature. You may, therefore, judge of the feelings of an aged and fond grandfather, (for they have human feelings,) upon receiving intelligence of his long lost child. I accompanied your letter with an account of our settlement, and the object we had in view of returning the much injured Africans to the land of their forefathers.

He wrote me a very kind letter, (which I would have sent you, but it is mislaid) thanking me for the information, and requesting me to inform you of the great regard which he felt for the attention they had paid to his grandson. He begged me to assure the Abolition Society that he would remunerate them for all expenses they had incurred on account of his child. He seemed much pleased at the location of our colony, and wished to open a trade with us as soon as the rains should cease.

There has another circumstance occurred, which, in conjunction with the above, may be said to have opened a new era to the view of the natives on this part of the Coast.

The eleven Africans who were seized in Baltimore, and rescued from a piratical vessel, as you have doubtless heard

by the newspapers, were last November delivered to me in Africa, by the captain of the schooner Fidelity. It was ascertained that they had been taken in war near our settlement, and sold by King Shaker, of Gallenos, and by him sold to the captain of a Spanish vessel. This vessel was plundered by captain Chase, of Baltimore, and boldly brought into that port, trusting to his influence with certain persons of high standing, to elude the authority of our laws. But by the interference of E. Tyson, deceased, there was an investigation, and the slaves were detained until I arrived in that city, and took charge of them as Agent of the Colonization Society. Their case could not be decided before I sailed for Africa, but they were shortly after set at liberty, and sent in the African packet to our colony, and delivered to my care. As they all preferred returning to their parents and families to remaining in our colony, they were permitted to do so.

When I went on board the vessel, though much emaciated and reduced almost to a skeleton, they immediately recognized me to be the person who had the year before rescued them from slavery. I had scarcely stepped my foot on deck before they were all round me, expressing by words and gestures the most heartfelt satisfaction for the favours they had received.

When the vessel was getting under way, yielding to early impressions, by which they had been taught to consider a white face and treachery as inseparable, they concluded they were betrayed, and were again to return to America. They sprang below to get their bags, and were about to plunge into the Ocean, and swim to the shore with their bundles. On being assured I was about to restore them to their native towns, some of which were nearly in sight, their confidence was restored, and they contentedly went to work. When arrived at Sugary, our crew being sickly, I sent on shore for Charles Gomez, a native, who had been educated in England, to come off with his boat, and take the captives on shore. He came, off, accompanied by several of the natives; and here a most interesting interview took place between these long separated acquaintances.

A circumstance attending this affair is truly characteristic of the African character. One of these captives had been taken by this Gomez two years before, in a war between him and the father of the captives, and afterwards sold to King Shaker. This captive was at first very shy of Gomez, and refused to go on shore with him, fearing the war was not yet over, and that he should be again sold to a slave vessel then lying in sight; but I assured him that he was in no danger; that I knew the war to be over; that Gomez was a par-

ticular friend of mine, and traded with me ; and, in the presence of both assured them, that should Gomez attempt to do him injustice, I would not fail to chastise him. These assurances entirely overcame his doubts, and when told that his father and the fathers of two others of them were then standing on the beach, not knowing that it was their sons, whom they had long supposed were doomed to perpetual slavery, were so shortly to be restored to their fond embraces, they all stepped into the boat, and in a few minutes astonished their delighted parents on the shore. I was much pleased to see that Gomez appeared truly to enter into the feelings of those poor creatures at this time, although he had been the cause of all their sufferings ; but that was considered by them as the fortune of war, and created no hostile feelings of revenge.

When taking my final leave of these poor fellows, they, pointing to their bags, filled with presents from Gen. Harper and Elijah Tyson, exclaimed, see there !—them daddies in America good man. These circumstances shew what entire confidence may be obtained over native Africans by good offices. I wish I could say it was possible to obtain the same degree of confidence over the coloured people of this country by any kindness whatever.

Does not this show the proper field to operate upon in suppressing the slave trade ? Send men among them capable of instructing them—let them be qualified in head as well as in heart—not avaricious speculators, nor yet ignorant enthusiasts ; but practical men, who can give the natives a living example of integrity of principle, and at the same time instruct them in other modes of obtaining the necessaries of life. Let them be taught the benefit of employing their time in cultivating the earth—shew them that the labour of a man for one year will produce more than they can sell him for—create a market for all they can supply, and give them in exchange such articles as they want, immediately their wars, which have been entered into merely to get slaves, the sale of which is the only method they know of to supply their wants, will cease.

I think myself authorized in this assertion, having witnessed the effects produced by the very limited trade which I opened with them for a short time while in the colony, and viewing the alacrity with which they entered into any new business which was proposed to them. I believe I am safe in saying there was more work performed within about 40 miles of the Coast in six weeks, at the close of the rains, with a view of trading with our colony when the rains should cease, than had ever been done in any four years before. If the first



impulse could produce this effect, what may be expected from a continuation of the same cause.

I have no doubt but that any expenses accruing to the Abolition Society on account of this lad, now under their care, will be faithfully discharged by King Shaker; and as it may be of immense importance to Africa hereafter, I hope the society will spare no pains to have him properly educated, and instructed in agriculture or the mechanical arts. Should he in future succeed to his grandfather's authority in the principal mart of the slave trade now on the Coast, this fortunate circumstance may be the means of rescuing more unfortunate beings from the iron hand of slavery, than all the exertions of the society have done since its first establishment.

That this may be the happy issue of your humane endeavours, is the ardent wish of your most obedient,

E. AYRES.

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*Message from the President of the United States, transmitting the information required by a resolution of the House of Representatives, of 27th February last, in relation to the suppression of the African Slave-Trade.*

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :

I transmit, herewith, to the House of Representatives, a report from the Secretary of State, with the papers therein referred to, in compliance with a resolution of that House, of 27th January last.

JAMES MONROE.

Washington, 19th March, 1824.

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Department of State, Washington, 18th March, 1824.

The Secretary of State, to whom has been referred a resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 27th of January last, requesting the President to communicate to that House such part, as he may not deem inexpedient to divulge, of any correspondence, or negotiation, which he may have instituted with any foreign government, since the 28th of February, 1823, in compliance with a request contained in a resolution of the same House of that date, relative to the denunciation of the African slave-trade as piracy, has the honour to submit to the President, copies of the correspondence requested.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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#### LIST OF PAPERS SENT.

- |                              |   |                   |
|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1. Mr. Canning to Mr. Adams, | . | 29 January, 1823. |
| 2. Mr. Adams to Mr. Canning, | . | 31 March, do.     |
| 3. Mr. Canning to Mr. Adams. | . | 8 April. do.      |

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|-----|--|------------|-------|
| 4.  | Mr. Adams to Mr. Canning,  | 24 June,   | 1823. |
| 5.  | Mr. Adams to Mr. Nelson, (Extract)   | 28 April,  | do.   |
| 6.  | Same to Mr. Rodney, do.  | 17 May,    | do.   |
| 7.  | Same to Mr. Anderson, do.  | 27 May,    | do.   |
| 8.  | Same to Mr. Rush, with one enclosure ; Convention Slave Trade, (Extract)                     | 24 June,   | do.   |
| 9.  | Same to Mr. Middleton, (Copy)  | 28 July,   | do.   |
| 10. | Same to Mr. Everett, do.   | 8 August,  | do.   |
| 11. | Same to Gen. Dearborn, (Extract)   | 14 do.     | do.   |
| 12. | Mr. Rush to Mr. Adams, (Extracts)  | 9 October, | do.   |
| 13. | Mr. Sheldon to same, do.   | 16 do.     | do.   |
| 14. | Same to same, with two enclosures ; correspondence with Viscount Chateaubriand, (Extracts)   | 8 Novr.    | do.   |
| 15. | Mr. Everett to Mr. Adams, with two enclosures ; correspondence with Baron Nagell, (Extracts) | 20 Novr.   | do.   |

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*Mr. Canning to Mr. Adams.*

Washington, January 29, 1823.

SIR : To the complete abolition of the African slave trade, Great Britain, as you are well aware, has long devoted her anxious and unremitting exertions ; she availed herself, during the war, of her belligerent rights, and extended dominion in the colonies, to put down the inhuman traffick ; in peace, she has spared no labour, and shrunk from no sacrifice, to supply, by a general co-operation of the maritime powers, whatever has been withdrawn from her peculiar controul by the cessation of hostilities, and the colonial arrangements consequent on that event. It is matter of deep regret, to his majesty's government, that the result of their exertions is far from corresponding either to the cause which demands, or to the zeal which sustains them. The pest, which they have pledged themselves to destroy, if it be in human power to destroy it, not only survives, to the disgrace and affliction of the age, but seems to acquire a fresh capacity for existence with every endeavour for its destruction.

To whatever fatality it may be owing, that, while the obligation of adopting and enforcing measures for the extermination of the slave trade, is solemnly acknowledged by the civilized world, this great object seems rather to elude the grasp than to approach its consummation. Great Britain perceives, in the postponement of her hopes, however mortifying for the moment, no reason either to relax from her efforts, or to abandon the expectation of final success. Impelled, by

the noblest motives, to persevere in the cause of abolition, and mindful by what slow laborious steps the present point has been attained, she looks forward, through surrounding obstacles, to that triumphant accomplishment of her purpose, the benefit and glory of which will only be rendered more signal by the difficulties attendant on its progress.

In calling on Europe and America to join with them in the discharge of this sacred duty, his majesty and his ministers have appealed, sir, with the more confidence, to your government, as the United States have long proclaimed their decided hostility to the slave trade, and are surpassed by no country in the vigour of their legislative enactments for its repression. The identity of principle, existing on this subject, between the two governments, is distinctly recorded in the treaty of peace ; and, in answer to every proposal which has since, by his majesty's command, been addressed to your cabinet, for redeeming that pledge, by a broad and effectual application of the principle, a fresh assurance has been given of the unceasing interest with which the United States continue to promote the cause of abolition. When, to this accord, in principle and sentiment, is added the conviction, avowed by both parties, that, in spite of laws and treaties, the accursed traffick still thrives, under the eyes of an indignant world, it would seem impossible that the two powers should be long prevented from concerting a joint system of measures against the common object of their abhorrence and just proscription. Whatever circumstances, views, or impressions, may have hitherto defeated this expectation, his majesty's ministers are still unwilling to despair of finding the United States at length prepared either to close with the system of concert already offered to their acceptance, or to suggest a plan of equal efficiency in its place. The alternative embraces a duty, for the performance of which both countries are responsible before God and man.

A deep sense of this duty, and a reliance, by no means relinquished, on the general disposition of the United States, have prompted the several communications on this question, which have been addressed to you at successive periods, either through me or by means of the American Envoy in London. You will readily call to mind, sir, that, in the course of last summer, I apprised you of the intention of his majesty's ministers to press for an early re-consideration of the subject, submitting whether it might not prove agreeable to the American cabinet to anticipate that intended recurrence to it on the part of Great Britain, by some efficient proposal, originating with itself. I took occasion, in repeated conversations,

to urge anew those various arguments which support and justify the opinion of his majesty's government ; and I also placed in your hands the official papers, then recently printed by order of Parliament, in further evidence of the extent to which the traffick in human beings was still carried on from Africa, under circumstances of aggravated cruelty. In declaring, as on former occasions, the readiness of his majesty's ministers to examine, with respect and candour, whatever scheme of concert, if any, the American cabinet might think proper to bring forward, as a substitute for theirs, you will remember how strongly I expressed my belief that the only effectual measure devised, or likely to be devised, was a mutual concession of the right of search. In the exercise of that right, under such guards, and with such limitations, as may serve to tranquilize the most apprehensive and scrupulous minds, it is still conceived that the best and only cure for this intolerable mishief is to be found. You assured me, at a subsequent conference, that my representations had been duly submitted to the President. I wish it were in my power to add, that the cause, which I pleaded, had prevailed.

From the printed documents which I had the honour of communicating to you, it appears that the French flag is more particularly employed to cover the illicit trade on the coast of Africa. It would, perhaps, be unfair to conclude, that French property and French subjects are concerned to the full proportion in which the colours of that nation are used ; but it is manifest, that both are engaged in this commerce of blood, to an extent which reflects discredit, if not on the motives of the French administration, at least on the efficiency of its measures ; and makes it imperative on those governments which are pledged to each other for the suppression of the slave trade, to declare their reprobation of what is at best a culpable remissness, and to omit nothing that may rouse the French cabinet to a more active exercise of its authority.

It was a part of my instructions to bring this point under your immediate consideration, and to intimate that the remonstrances of his majesty's ambassador at Paris, might be attended with more effect, if the American envoy at that court were directed to concur with his excellency in a joint representation on the subject. It would be idle at present to repeat the arguments adduced in executing this instruction. The answer which you returned in the name of the President, was unfavourable to the step I had suggested ; and such was the result which it became my duty to announce to his majesty's Secretary of State. But no doubt was started with respect to the grounds on which my application rested ; and, of those

notorious facts, to which I referred, as calling for a joint and impressive appeal to the good faith and good feelings of the French government, you seemed to be equally convinced with myself.

The reasons, indeed, which you allege for declining at that time to comply with a proposal, no less simple in its nature than useful in its object, I understood to be rather of a temporary character; and under this impression, I cannot but hope, that the period is now arrived when they will no longer be found to stand in opposition to the great considerations involved in this question.

In repeating, therefore, the invitation which I have already had the honour to convey to you on the part of his majesty's government, it only remains for me to request an early communication of the intentions at present entertained on this head by the government of the United States.

I beg, sir, that you will accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

STRATFORD CANNING.

To the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

*Secretary of State, &c.*

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*Mr. Adams to Mr. Canning.*

Department of State, Washington, 31st March, 1823.

SIR: Your letter of the 29th of January, was, immediately after being received, submitted to the consideration of the President of the United States. The delay which has hitherto procrastinated a reply to it has been occasioned, not by any abatement of the interest, on the part of the government of the United States, with which it regards every effort and proposal for the full and final suppression of the African slave trade; nor by any hesitation with regard to the decision which had already been formed and declared respecting the proposal of submitting the vessels and citizens of the United States, to the search of foreign officers upon the high seas; but by an expectation that measures contemplated by the national House of Representatives, might, before the close of the session of Congress, indicate to the Executive government of this country, views upon which it would be enabled to substitute a proposal for accomplishing the total abolition of the traffick, more effectual to its purpose, and less liable to objections, on other accounts, than that to which the United States cannot be reconciled, of granting the right of search. These measures were matured in the branch of the Legislature where they originated, only at the very termination of the session; and the Senate had not the opportunity of pro-

nouncing its opinion upon them. There is, however, no doubt on the mind of the President, that they would have obtained their sanction ; and he has, therefore, no hesitation in acting, so far, upon the expressed and almost unanimous sense of the House, as to declare the willingness of this Union to join with other nations in the common engagement to pursue and to punish those who shall continue to practise this crime, so reprobated by the just and humane of every country, as enemies of the human race, and to fix them, irrevocably, in the class, and under the denomination, of pirates.

I have the honour of enclosing herewith, a copy of the 4th and 5th sections of a law of the United States, passed on the 15th of May, 1820 ; by which it will be seen, that any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any *foreign* ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person *whatever*, being of the crew, or ship's company of *any* ship or vessel, owned in the whole or part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, participating in the slave trade, is declared to have incurred the penalties of piracy, and made liable to atone for the crime with his life. The legislation of a single nation can go no further, to mark its abhorrence of this traffick, or to deter the people subject to its laws, from contamination, by the practice of others.

If the inference in your letter of the 29th of January, from the documents to which it refers, be correct, that the French flag is more particularly employed to cover the illicit trade on the coast of Africa ; and the conjecture likewise suggested in it, that this flag is used to cover the property, and the persons of individuals bound to other allegiances, be well founded, this statute makes every citizen of the United States, concerned in such covered traffick, liable, if detected in it, to suffer an ignominious death. The code of Great Britain herself, has, hitherto, no provision of equal severity in the pursuit of her subjects, even under the shelter of foreign banners, and to the covert of simulated papers and property.

I am directed by the President of the United States to propose, on their part, the adoption, by Great Britain, of the *principle* of this act ; and to offer a mutual stipulation to annex the penalties of *piracy* to the offence of participating in the slave trade, by the citizens or subjects of the respective parties. This proposal is made as a substitute for that of conceding a mutual right of search, and of a trial by mixed commissions, which would be rendered useless by it. Should it meet the approbation of your government, it may be sepa-

rately urged upon the adoption of France, and upon the other maritime powers of Europe, in the manner most conducive to its ultimate success.

I have the honour of tendering to you the renewed assurance of my distinguished consideration.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The Right Hon. STRATFORD CANNING,  
*Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary  
 from Great Britain.*

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*Mr. Canning to Mr. Adams.*

Washington, April 8th, 1823.

SIR: I have received your official letter, dated the 31st ult. in answer to that which I had the honour of addressing to you on the 29th of January; and, together with it, a transcript of the 4th and 5th sections of an act of Congress, approved the 15th of May, 1820.

From this communication, I learn that the government of the United States is willing to join with other powers in declaring slave trade piracy, under the law of nations, and treating the perpetrators of this crime as enemies of the human race; that the American government is further prepared to enter into a formal engagement with Great Britain, to the effect of carrying the principle just specified into immediate operation, reciprocally as to their respective subjects or citizens; and, finally, that as soon as this proposal shall be accepted by the British government, the United States will be ready to concur in pressing its adoption on the court of France, and other maritime powers, in such manner as may afford the fairest prospect of success.

In whatever degree his Majesty's government may be disposed to receive this offer, as an acknowledgment that measures more efficient than any now generally in force, are indispensable for the suppression of the slave trade, it is not difficult to foresee, that fresh sentiments of regret will be excited, by the unfavourable view which the American administration continues to take of the principal measure suggested on the part of his Majesty. That measure, you are well aware, sir, is a mutual limited concession of the right of search; and though, as I have frequently stated, his Majesty's government, in adopting it by treaty with several of the maritime powers, and in recommending it with earnestness to the acceptance of others, particularly of the United States, have never opposed the consideration of any other plan, brought forward as equally effective; yet, having, from the first, regarded it in conscience as the only true and practical cure for the evil in question, they are naturally anxious,

from a deep sense of duty, to place it in its proper light, and to guard it, as far as possible, from prejudice or misconception. I, therefore, deem it of importance, on this occasion, to bring into one point of view, the several limitations under which it is conceived, that the right of search might be so exercised, as to clear it of every imaginable difficulty. To give the intended limitations their just value, it is requisite to bear in mind the particular objections, which have been urged against the interchange of a right of search ; and for these, in their full extent, I can hardly be wrong in referring to your previous correspondence, since the last communication which I have received from you on this subject, though it describes the impressions of the American government as remaining unaltered, does not exhibit any argument in support of their opinion.

In answer to that class of objections which relate to the mixed commissions established by treaty, between his Majesty and the courts of Lisbon, Brussels, and Madrid, it may suffice to remind you of the intimation conveyed through Mr. Rush, in the early part of last year, which I had subsequently the honour of confirming at the Department of State. It might be expected, that any arrangement for the adjudication of vessels engaged in the slave trade, independent of those tribunals, would either leave the detained vessels to be disposed of in the ordinary way, by the sentence of a court of admiralty in the country of the captor, or place them under the jurisdiction of a similar court in the country to which they belonged. On the former supposition, it is not to be anticipated, that the United States could hesitate to admit the jurisdiction of a foreign court of admiralty, when sanctioned by mutual agreement, over the persons and property of citizens, abandoned to a pursuit, so flagrantly iniquitous, as to be classed by the legislature of their country with crimes of the most heinous description, and which the American government has declared its willingness to treat as piracy, under the law of nations. Great Britain, for her part, desires no other than that any of her subjects, who so far defy the laws, and dishonour the character of their country, as to engage in a trade of blood, proscribed not more by the acts of the legislature, than by the national feeling, should be detected and brought to justice, even by foreign hands, and from under the protection of her flag. In either of the supposed cases, it is clear that all impediments connected with the forms of proceeding, and peculiar construction of the mixed commissions, would be completely avoided ; and, with respect to any embarrassment attending the disposal of condemned vessels, and liberated slaves, it has already been suggested by



a committee of the House of Representatives, that the provisions of the act of Congress, passed the 3rd of March, 1819, might be applied to them without difficulty or inconvenience.

The question being thus relieved from all connection with the mixed commissions, every constitutional objection, arising out of their alleged incompatibility with the institutions of the United States, is at once removed from consideration.—The remaining obstacles may be reduced under the following heads: the unpopularity of the right of search in this country; its tendency, if mutually employed, to produce an unfriendly collision between the two nations; and a certain supposed inequality, which would attend its exercise.

With respect to any doubt of its utility, created by a persuasion that very few vessels, under American colours, have been discovered, for some time past, on the Coast of Africa, it requires but little reflection to prove, that no conclusive inference can be drawn from that circumstance. Not to dwell upon the extent and nature of the slave coast, peculiarly favourable to the concealment of trading vessels, it must be remembered, that the United States have maintained, at no time, a greater number of cruizers than two, rarely more than one, and latterly, during several months together, no ship of war, whatever, on the African station. As late as the 14th of January, 1822, it was stated, officially, by the Governor of Sierra Leone, “that the fine rivers Nunez and Pongas, were entirely under the control of renegado European and American slave traders.”

But, if it were even manifest, that the active and judicious exertions of your naval officers in that quarter, had really effected a total disuse of the American flag in slave trading, the right of search would still be most highly desirable, in order to secure and extend so important an advantage. As an example, indeed, to other powers, particularly to France, whose subjects, encouraged by the loose and equivocal measures of their Government, are convicted, by a mass of evidence too strong to be resisted, of being concerned, to a deplorable degree, in this atrocious commerce, the concurrence of the United States in a system of which, the very first result is to augment considerably the means of bringing offenders to justice, can hardly be rated at too high a value. The example which they are called upon to give, is not merely due to the claims of humanity; Great Britain and the United States, are not only pledged to put down the slave trade, within the limits of their immediate jurisdiction; they are also bound, by solemn obligations, to employ their utmost endeavours for its complete and universal extermination. They have both succeed-

ed in their great and benevolent object, so far as the rigour of legislative enactments is capable of counteracting the temptation of enormous profit, which stimulates the unprincipled avarice of the slave merchant. It is the facility of escaping detection, and not any want of severity in the punishment attached to a violation of their laws, which, as far as they are concerned, requires a more decisive remedy ; and, a remedy adequate to the evil, can only be found in such measures as will strip the illicit trader of every disguise, and throw the chances entirely on the side of failure in his inhuman speculations. In the case of search, at sea, the means unavoidably employed in the commission of this crime are fortunately, it may be said providentially, of such a nature, as in general to furnish a plain substantial body of proof, for the conviction of the criminal.

For the satisfaction of those who seriously apprehend that the friendly relations subsisting between the two countries would be endangered, by the admission of a practice which, in their opinion, must necessarily produce a vexatious exercise of authority on the part of the searching officer, and frequent complaints on that of the merchant, whose vessel is subjected to search, with the supposed aggravation of an unequal pressure on one of the contracting parties, His Majesty's Government would, doubtless, agree to confine the right of visit to a fixed number of cruizers on each side, restricted, in the performance of this duty, to certain specified parts of the ocean; and acting under regulations, prepared by mutual consent, for the purpose of preventing abuses. To these important limitations, if not deemed sufficient, others might easily be added ; the arrangement, for example, might be temporary, adopted, in the first instance, for a short period, and only to be continued in the event of its being found, on trial, to operate in a satisfactory manner. With this understanding, a speedy termination would, at least, be ensured, to any objectionable result, attending its operation ; and, for the sake of interests as dear to humanity, an experiment, of which the advantage, as to its main object, is certain and complete, the inconvenience, contingent and momentary, might surely be reconciled with a due regard to considerations exclusively national.

Supposing that inconvenience should be found, in practice, to press unequally on either of the two parties, Great Britain, and not the United States, is most likely to have cause of complaint, inasmuch as the greater extent of her trade, especially on the coast of Africa, must naturally expose her, in a greater degree, to any injurious consequences of the agreement. Great Britain, however, is less disposed to shrink

from any sacrifice, by which she can materially advance the sacred cause of abolition, than to lament, and, if possible, to dispel those mistaken notions, and unfounded jealousies, which deprive her exertions of their full effect, and serve, but too successfully, to protract the existence of a mischief, which all unite in deploring. In point of principle, the honour of neither flag would be tarnished, by having its protection withdrawn for a season, from those who perpetrate the atrocities of the slave trade ; and permit me, sir, to add, that what Great Britain is ready to allow, in a matter so vital to her pride and to her power, may surely be allowed, reciprocally by any other nation, however scrupulous in the maintenance of its maritime independence.

That an agreement between our respective cabinets, founded on a mutual right of search, thus guarded and explained, would fail to obtain the consent of the American Senate, or that a nation so enquiring and enlightened as the United States, would confound the proposed measure with that practice, which afforded matter of painful contention during the last wars in Europe, is what I am extremely unwilling to anticipate. The two objects are, in fact, so totally distinct from each other, in principle, purpose, and mode of execution, that the proposal of the British Government need only be presented to the examination, I will not say of a select and experienced assembly, but of the people at large, in order to be seen in its true bearings.

So far is the British proposal from tending to commit the American government on the long disputed question of the belligerent right of search, that, if it may be supposed to touch that question at all, it appears rather to operate in the sense of the United States, than unfavourably for their view of the subject.

The officers entrusted on either side with the duty of examining suspected vessels, would necessarily act under instructions calculated to ensure a perfect harmony between the principle and the application of this conceded right, nor is it to be feared that they would presume, in any case, to extend the visit thus authorized at sea, beyond the particular and specified object to which it is meant to be confined.

I have the honour to request, sir, that you will again accept the assurance of my highest consideration.

STRATFORD CANNING.

HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,  
*Secretary of State, &c.*

R.

*Mr. Adams to Mr. Canning.*

Department of State, Washington, 24th June, 1823.

SIR: In the letter which I had the honour of addressing you, on the 31st of March last, a proposal was made, to be submitted to the consideration of your government, that the *principle* assumed in an act of the Congress of the United States, of 15th May, 1820, of considering and punishing the African slave trade as *piracy*, should be adopted as the basis of a stipulation by treaty between the United States and Great Britain; and to be urged separately upon the adoption of France, and upon the other maritime nations of Europe, in the manner most conducive to its ultimate success. It was observed that this offer was presented as a substitute for that of conceding a mutual right of search, and a trial by mixed commissions, to which the United States could not be reconciled, and which would be rendered useless by it.

Your letter of the 3th of April, to which I have now the honour to reply, intimates that his majesty's government will be disposed to receive this offer only as an acknowledgment that measures more efficient than any now generally in force, are indispensable for the suppression of the slave trade; and that, although they have never opposed the consideration of any other plan, brought forward as equally effective, yet, having from the first, regarded a mutual limited concession of the right of search, as the *only* true and practical cure for the evil, their prevailing sentiment will be of regret at the unfavourable view still taken of it by the government of the United States. Your letter, therefore, urges a re-consideration of the proposal for this mutual concession of the right of search, and by presenting important modifications of the proposal heretofore made, removes some of the objections which had been taken to it, as insuperable, while it offers argumentative answers to the others which had been disclosed in my previous communications on this subject to you.

In the treaties of Great Britain with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, for the suppression of the slave trade, heretofore communicated, with the invitation to the United States to enter into similar engagements, three principles were involved, to neither of which the government of the United States felt itself at liberty to accede. The first was the mutual concession of the right of search and capture, in time of peace, over merchant vessels, on the coast of Africa. The second was, the exercise of that right even over vessels under *convoy* of the public officers of their own nation; and the third was the trial of the captured vessels by mixed commissions in colonial settlements, under no subordination to the

ordinary judicial tribunals of the country to which the party brought before them for trial should belong. In the course of the correspondence relating to these proposals, it has been suggested that a substitute for the trial by mixed commissions might be agreed to, and in your letter of the 8th of April, an *expectation* is authorized, that an arrangement for the adjudication of the vessels detained, might leave them to be disposed of in the ordinary way, by the sentence of a court of admiralty in the country of the captor, or place them under the jurisdiction of a similar court in the country to which they belonged ; to the former alternative of which you anticipate the unhesitating admission of the United States, in consideration of the aggravated nature of the crime, as acknowledged by their laws, which would be thus submitted to a *foreign* jurisdiction. But it was precisely because the jurisdiction was *foreign* that the objection was taken to the trial by mixed commissions ; and if it transcended the constitutional authority of the government of the United States, to subject the persons, property, and reputation of their citizens, to the decisions of a court partly composed of their own countrymen, it might seem needless to remark, that the constitutional objection could not diminish, in proportion as its cause should increase, or that the power incompetent to make American citizens amenable to a court consisting one-half of foreigners, should be adequate to place their liberty, their fortune, and their fame, at the disposal of tribunals entirely *foreign*. I would further remark, that the sentence of a court of Admiralty in the country of the captor, is not the *ordinary way* by which the merchant vessels of one nation, taken on the high seas, by the officers of another, are tried in time of peace. There is, in the ordinary way, no right whatever existing, to take, to search, or even to board them ; and, I take this occasion to express the great satisfaction with which we have seen this principle solemnly recognised by the recent decision of a British court of admiralty. Nor is the aggravation of the crime for the trial of which a tribunal may be instituted, a cogent motive for assenting to the principle of subjecting American citizens, their rights and interests to the decision of foreign courts ; for, although Great Britain, as you remark, may be willing to abandon those of her subjects who defy the laws and tarnish the character of their country, by participating in this trade, to the dispensation of justice even by foreign hands, the United States are bound to remember that the power which enables a court to try the guilty, authorizes them also to pronounce upon the fate of the innocent ; and that the very question of *guilt* or innocence, is that which the protecting care of their constitution has reserved for the

citizens of this Union, to the exclusive decision of their own countrymen. This principle has not been departed from by the statute which has branded the slave trader with the name, and doomed him to the punishment, of a pirate. The distinction between piracy by the law of nations, and piracy by statute, is well known and understood in Great Britain ; and while the former subjects the transgressor guilty of it, to the jurisdiction of any and every country, into which he may be brought, or wherein he may be taken, the latter forms a part of the municipal criminal code of the country where it is enacted, and can be tried only by its own courts.

There remains the suggestion, that the slave trader captured under the mutual concession of the power to make the capture, might be delivered over to the jurisdiction of his own country. This arrangement would not be liable to the constitutional objection, which must ever apply to the jurisdiction of the mixed commission, or of the admiralty courts of the captor ; and if your note is to be understood as presenting it in the character of an alternative, to which your government is disposed to accede, I am authorized to say, that the President considers it as sufficient to remove the insuperable obstacle which had precluded the assent of the United States to the former proposals of your government, resulting from the character and composition of the tribunals, to whom the question of guilt or innocence was to be committed.

The objections to the right of search, as incident to the right of detention and capture, are also in a very considerable degree removed, by the introduction of the principle, that neither of them should be exercised, but under the responsibility of the captor, to the tribunals of the captured party, in damages and costs. This guard against the abuses of a power so liable to abuse, would be indispensable ; but, if the provisions necessary for securing effectually its practical operation, would reduce the right itself to a power merely nominal, the stipulation of it in a treaty, would serve rather to mark the sacrifice of a great and precious principle, than to attain the end for which it would be given up.

In the objections heretofore disclosed to the concession desired, of the mutual and qualified right of search, the principal stress was laid upon the repugnance which such a concession would meet in the public feeling of this country, and of those to whom its interests are entrusted in the department of its Government, the sanction of which is required for the ratification of treaties. The irritating tendency of the practice of search, and the inequalities of its probable operation, were slightly noticed, and have been contested in argument, or met by propositions of possible palliatives, or remedies

for anticipated abuses, in your letter. But the source and foundation of all these objections, was, in our former correspondence, scarcely mentioned, and never discussed. They consist in the nature of the right of search, at sea, which, as recognised or tolerated by the usage of nations, is a right exclusively of *war*, never exercised, but by an outrage upon the rights of *peace*. It is an act analogous to that of searching the dwelling-houses of individuals on the land. The vessel of the navigator is his dwelling-house ; and like that, in the sentiment of every people that cherishes the blessings of personal liberty and security, ought to be a sanctuary, inviolable to the hand of power, unless upon the most unequivocal public necessity, and under the most rigorous personal responsibility of the intruder. Search at sea, as recognised by all maritime nations, is confined to the single object of finding and taking contraband of war. By the law of nature, when two nations conflict together in war, a third, remaining neutral, retains all its rights of peace, and friendly intercourse with both. Each belligerent, indeed, acquires, by war, the right of preventing a third party from administering to his enemy the direct and immediate materials of war ; and, as incidental to this right, that of searching the merchant vessels of the neutral on the high seas, to find them. Even thus limited, it is an act of power, which nothing but necessity can justify, inasmuch as it cannot be exercised, but by carrying the evils of war into the abodes of peace ; and, by visiting the innocent with some of the penalties of guilt. Among the modern maritime nations, an *usage* has crept in, not founded upon the law of nature, never universally admitted, often successfully resisted, and against which, all have occasionally borne testimony, by renouncing it in treaties, of extending this practice of search and seizure, to *all* the property of the enemy in the vessel of the friend. This practice was, in its origin, evidently an abusive and wrongful extension of the search for contraband ; effected by the belligerent, because he was armed ; submitted to by the neutral, because he was defenceless ; and acquiesced in by his sovereign, for the sake of preserving a remnant of peace, rather than become himself a party to the war. Having thus, occasionally, been practised by all, as belligerents, and submitted to by all as neutrals, it has acquired the force of an usage, which, at the occurrence of every war, the belligerent may enforce or relinquish, and which the neutral may suffer or resist, at their respective options.

This search for, and seizure of, the property of an enemy in the vessel of a friend, is a relict of the barbarous warfare of barbarous ages ; the cruel, and, for the most part, now

exploded system of *private war*. As it concerns the enemy himself, it is inconsistent with that mitigated usage of modern wars, which respects the private property of individuals on the land. As relates to the neutral, it is a violation of his natural right to pursue, unmolested, his peaceful commercial intercourse with his friend. Invidious as is its character, in both these aspects, it has other essential characteristics, equally obnoxious. It is an uncontrolled exercise of authority, by a man in arms, over a man without defence ; by an officer of one nation over the citizen of another ; by a man intent upon the annoyance of his enemy, responsible for the act of search to no tribunal, and always prompted to balance the disappointment of a fruitless search, by the abusive exercise of his power, and to punish the neutral, for the very clearness of his neutrality. It has, in short, all the features of unbridled power, stimulated by hostile and unsocial passions.

I forbear to enlarge upon the further extension of this practice, by referring to injuries, which the United States experienced, when neutral, in a case of vital importance ; because, in digesting a plan for the attainment of an object, which both nations have equally at heart, it is desirable to avoid every topic which may excite painful sensations on either side. I have adverted to the interest in question, from necessity, it being one which could not be lost sight of in the present discussion.

Such being the view taken of the right of search, as recognised by the law of nations, and exercised by belligerent powers, it is due to candour to state, that my government has an insuperable objection to its extension by treaty, in any manner whatever, lest it might lead to consequences still more injurious to the United States, and especially in the circumstance alluded to. That the proposed extension will operate in time of peace, and derive its sanction from compact, present no inducements to its adoption. On the contrary, they form strong objections to it. Every extension of the right of search, on the principles of that right, is disapproved. If the freedom of the sea is abridged by compact for any new purpose, the example may lead to other changes. And if its operation is extended to a time of peace, as well as of war, a new system will be commenced for the dominion of the sea, which may eventually, especially by the abuses into which it may lead, confound all distinction of time and circumstances, of peace and of war, and of rights applicable to each state.

The United States have, on great consideration, thought it most advisable to consider this trade as piracy, and to treat



it as such. They have thought that the trade itself might, with great propriety, be placed in that class of offences ; and that, by placing it there, we should more effectually accomplish the great object of suppressing the trade, than by any other measure which we could adopt.

To this measure, none of the objections which have been urged against the extension of the right of search, appear to be applicable. *Piracy being an offence against the human race, has its well known incidents of capture and punishment by death, by the people and tribunals of every country.* By making this trade piratical, it is the nature of the crime which draws after it the necessary consequences of capture and punishment. 'The United States have done this, by an act of Congress, in relation to themselves. They have also evinced their willingness, and expressed their desire, that the change should become general, by the consent of every other power, whereby it would be made the law of nations. Till then, they are bound, by the injunctions of their constitution, to execute it, so far as respects the punishment of their own citizens, by their own tribunals. They consider themselves, however, at liberty, until that consent is obtained, to co-operate to a certain extent, with other powers, to ensure a more complete effect to their respective acts ; they placing themselves, severally, on the same ground, by legislative provisions. It is in this spirit, and for this purpose, that I have made to you the proposition under consideration.

By making the slave trade piratical, and attaching to it the punishment, as well as the odium, incident to that crime, it is believed that much has been done by the United States, to suppress it, in their vessels, and by their citizens. If your government would unite in this policy, it is not doubted that the happiest consequences would result from it. The example of Great Britain, in a manner so decisive, could not fail to attract the attention, and command the respect, of all her European neighbours. It is the opinion of the United States, that no measure, short of that proposed, will accomplish the object so much desired : and it is the earnest desire of my government, that the government of his Britannic majesty may co-operate in carrying it into effect.

I pray you, sir, to accept the renewed assurances of my distinguished consideration.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The Right Hon. STRATFORD CANNING,

*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary  
from Great Britain.*

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Adams to Mr. Nelson, dated*

Department of State, Washington, 28th April, 1823.

“ A resolution of the House of Representatives, at the last session of Congress, requests the President to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe, and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world. You will take an early opportunity to make known this disposition to the Spanish government; communicating to them copies of the fourth and fifth sections of the act of 3d March, 1819, which declares this traffick piratical when pursued by citizens of the United States; and you will express the willingness of the American government to enter into negotiations for the purpose of declaring it so, by the common consent of nations.”

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Adams to Mr. Rodney, dated*

Department of State, Washington, 17th May, 1823.

“ A resolution of the House of Representatives, at the late session of Congress, requests the President of the United States to enter upon, and prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations, with the several maritime powers of Europe, and America, as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation, as *piracy* under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.

“ In pursuance of the object, proposed by this resolution, you will communicate to the government of Buenos Ayres, copies of the several acts of Congress for the suppression of the slave trade, of the 20th of April, 1818; (U. S. Laws, vol. 6, page 325;) 3d March, 1819, (page 435;) and of 15th May, 1820, (page 529;) pointing their attention, particularly, to the fourth and fifth sections of the last, which subject to the penalties of piracy every citizen of the United States, guilty of active participation in the African slave trade. The adoption of this principle, in the legislative code of all the maritime nations, would, of itself, probably, suffice for the suppression of the trade. But, as it would yet not authorize the armed vessels of any one nation to capture those of another, engaged in the trade, a stipulation to that effect might be agreed to, by treaty, conditioned that the captor shall deliver over the captured party to the tribunals of his own country for trial; to which should be added, some guard of responsibility upon the capturing officer, to prevent the abusive exercise of his power.”

*Extract from the General Instructions to Richard C. Anderson, appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia, dated*

Department of State, Washington, May 27, 1823.

“A resolution of the House of Representatives, at the late session of Congress, requests the President of the United States to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.

“In pursuance of this object, you will communicate to the Colombian government copies of the several acts of our Congress for the suppression of the slave trade, of the 20th of April, 1818, (U. S. Laws, vol. vi. p. 325,) of 3d March, 1819, (p. 435,) and of 15th May, 1820, (p. 529,) pointing their attention particularly to the 4th and 5th sections of the last, which subject to the penalties of piracy, every citizen of the United States guilty of active participation in the African slave trade. The adoption of this principle in the legislative code of all the maritime nations, would, of itself, probably, suffice for the suppression of the trade; but, as it would yet not authorize the armed vessels of any one nation to capture those of another, engaged in the trade, a stipulation to that effect may be agreed to by the treaty, conditioned that the captor shall deliver over the captured party to the tribunals of his own country for trial; to which should be added some guard of responsibility upon the capturing officer, to prevent the abusive exercise of his powers.”

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*Extract of a letter from Mr. Adams to Mr. Rush, dated*

Department of State, Washington, June 24, 1823.

“A resolution of the House of Representatives, almost unanimously adopted at the close of the last session of Congress, requested “the President of the United States to enter upon and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.

“At the two preceding sessions of Congress, committees of the House had proposed a resolution, expressed in more general terms, that ‘the President of the United States be requested to enter into such arrangements as he may deem suit-

able and proper, with one or more of the maritime powers of Europe, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade ;' and this resolution had, in each case, been the conclusion of a report, recommending that the United States should accede to the proposal of a mutual and qualified concession of the right of search. The sentiments of the committee were, in this respect, different from those which had been expressed by the Executive Department of the Government, in its previous correspondence with that of Great Britain. No decision, by the House of Representatives, was made upon these resolutions, proposed at the preceding session ; but, upon the adoption of that which did pass, at the last session, it was well ascertained that the sentiments of the House, in regard to the right of search, coincided with those of the Executive : for they explicitly rejected an amendment which was moved to the resolution, and which would have expressed an opinion of the House favourable to the mutual concession of that right.\*

" You have been fully informed of the correspondence between the governments of the United States and of Great Britain, concerning the suppression of the slave trade, heretofore ; and have been, from time to time, effectually instrumental to it yourself. You are aware of the grounds upon which the proposals, on the part of Great Britain, that the United States should accede to the stipulations similar to those which she had succeeded in obtaining from Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, were on our part declined.

" The subject was resumed by the British minister residing here, Mr. S. Canning, a short time before the decease of the Marquis of Londonderry. It was suggested, that,

\* The House of Representatives did not on the occasion referred to by the Secretary of State, reject any proposition to exchange this right of search.

The resolution adopted by the House, as the Secretary demonstrates, involved the right of capture, and consequently the right to search the pirate. While the resolution was under consideration, and after its mover, Mr. MERCER, had delivered an argument in support of it, which distinctly traced the consequences of its adoption, and the evils it was designed to cure, among which was distinctly enumerated the absence of the right of mutual search, and the defects of the mixed commission courts of Great Britain, Governor Wright offered a clause which was deemed by the mover of the resolution, and the House, unnecessary, because the principle it contained was involved, as the Secretary himself admits, in the resolution itself.

To obviate farther debate, at so late a stage of the session of Congress, upon a subject which seemed to require none, the House almost unanimously sustained the previous question, and the resolution was, then, as unanimously adopted.

since the total disappearance of the British and American flags, as well as of those of the nations which had consented to put the execution of their laws against the trade under the superintendence of British naval officers, it continued to flourish under that of France ; that her laws, though in word and appearance equally severe in proscribing the traffic, were so remiss in the essential point of execution, that their effect was rather to encourage, than to suppress it ; and the American Government was urged to join in friendly representations to that of France, by instructing the minister of the United States at Paris, to concur in those which the British ambassador at that court had been charged with making, to ensure a more vigilant fulfilment of the prohibitory laws. This invitation, at that time given only in oral conference, was also declined, from an impression that such a concurrence might give umbrage to the French government, and tend rather to irritation, than to the accomplishment of the object for which it was desired. Mr. Gallatin was, nevertheless, instructed separately to bring the subject to the notice of the French government ; and did so, by a note communicating to them copies of the recent laws of the United States for the suppression of the trade, and particularly of that by which it has subjected every citizen of the United States, who, after the passage of the law, should be polluted with it, to the penalties of piracy.

“ On the 29th of January last, Mr. Canning, in a letter to this Department, repeated the invitation of a joint and concurrent remonstrance, to be made by the British ambassador, and our minister in France ; and at the same time called, with great earnestness, upon the government of the United States, either to accede to the principle of the mutual and qualified right of search, emphatically pronounced, in his belief, to be the *only* effectual measure devised, or likely to be devised, ‘ for the accomplishment of the end, or to bring forward some *other* scheme of concert,’ which it again declared the readiness of his Majesty’s minister to examine with respect and candour, as a substitute for that of the British cabinet.

“ However discouraging this call for an alternative might be, thus coupled as it was with so decisive a declaration of belief that no effectual alternative had been, or was likely to be, devised, an opportunity was offered, in pursuance of the resolution of the House of Representatives, adopted at the close of the late Session of Congress, for proposing a substitute, in our belief more effectual than the right of search could be, for the total and final suppression of this nefarious trade, and less liable either to objections of principle, or to abuses of practice.

“ This proposition was accordingly made, in my letter to Mr. Canning of 31st of March last, to which his letter of the 8th of April was the answer. In this answer Mr. Canning barely notices our proposition, to express an opinion that his Government will see in it nothing but an acknowledgment of the necessity of further and more effectual measures, and then proceeds with an elaborate review of all the objections which, in the previous correspondence between the two governments, had been taken on our part to the British connected proposal of a mutual right of search, and a trial by mixed commissions. Our objection had been of two kinds ; first, to the mixed commissions, as inconsistent with our Constitution, and secondly, to the right of search, as a dangerous precedent, liable to abuse, and odious to the feelings and recollections of our country.

“ In this letter of Mr. Canning, the proposal of trial by mixed commissions is formally withdrawn, and an alternative presented as practicable, one side of which only, and that the inadmissible side, is distinctly offered, namely, of trial by the Courts of the *captor*. The other side of the alternative would, indeed, remove our constitutional objection, and with it might furnish the means of removing the principal *inherent* objection to the concession of the right of search, that by which the searching officer is under no responsible control for that act.

“ But, in our previous correspondence, our strong repugnance to the right of search had been adverted to merely as matter of fact, without tracing it to its source, or referring to its causes. The object of this forbearance had been to avoid all unnecessary collision with feelings and opinions which were not the same on the part of Great Britain, and upon ours. They had been willingly left undiscussed. This letter of Mr. Canning, however, professedly reviewing all the previous correspondence, for the removal or avoidance of our objections, and contesting the analogy between the right of search, as it had been found obnoxious to us, and as now proposed for our adoption by formal compact, I have been under the absolute necessity of pointing out the analogies really existing between them, and of shewing that, as right of search, independent of the right of *capture*, and irresponsible or responsible only to the tribunals of the *captor*, it is, as proposed, essentially, liable to the same objections as it had been, when exercised as a belligerent right. Its *encroaching* character, founded in its nature as an irresponsible exercise of force, and exemplified in its extension from search for contraband of war, to search for enemies' property, and thence to search for *men* of the searcher's own nation, was thus necessarily

brought into view, and connected the exhibition of the evils inherent in the practice, with that of the abuses which have been found inseparable from it.

We have declared the slave trade, so far as it may be pursued by citizens of the United States, piracy; and, as such, made it punishable with death. The resolution of the House of Representatives recommends negotiation, to obtain the consent of the civilized world to recognize it as piracy, under the law of nations. One of the properties of that description of piracies is, that those who are guilty of it may be taken upon the high seas, and tried by the courts of every nation. But by the prevailing *customary* law, they are tried only by the tribunals of the nation to which the vessel belongs in which the piracy was committed. The crime itself has been, however, in modern times, of so rare occurrence, that there is no uniformity in the laws of the European nations with regard to this point, of which we have had remarkable and decisive proof within these five years, in the case of piracy and murder, committed on board the schooner *Plattsburg*, a merchant vessel of the United States. Nearly the whole of her crew were implicated in the crime, which was committed on the high seas. They carried the vessel into Christiansand, Norway, there abandoned her, and dispersed; three of them were taken up in Denmark, one in Sweden, one at Dantzic in Prussia, and one in France. Those taken up in Denmark and in Sweden were delivered up to officers of the United States, brought to this country, tried, convicted, and executed. The man taken at Dantzic, was, by consent of the Prussian Government, sent to *Elseneur*, and there confronted with those taken in Denmark. The evidence against him on the examination was decisive; but, as he persisted in the refusal to *confess* his guilt, the Prussian Government, bound by an established maxim of their municipal law, declined either to deliver him up, or to try him themselves, but sent him back to Dantzic, there to remain imprisoned for life. The French Government, upon advisement of the highest judicial authority of the kingdom, declined, also, either to try the man taken up there, or to deliver him up, unless upon proof of his guilt being produced against him, at the place where he was confined; with which condition, it not having been in our power to comply, the man remained there, also in prison, presumably for life. From these incidents it is apparent that there is no uniformity in the modes of trial, to which piracy, by the law of nations, is subjected in different European countries; but that the trial itself is considered as the right and the duty only of the nation to which the vessel belongs, on board of which the piracy was committed. This

was, however, a piracy committed on board of a vessel by its own crew. External piracies, or piracies committed by, and from one vessel against another, may be tried by the courts of any country, but are more usually tried by those of the country, whose vessels have been the sufferers of the piracy, as many of the Cuba pirates have been tried in the British West India Islands, and some of them in our courts.

This principle we should wish to introduce into the system, by which the slave trade should be recognized as piracy under the law of nations ; namely, that, although seizable by the officers and authorities of every nation, they should be triable only by the tribunals of the country of the slave trading vessel. This provision is indispensable to guard the innocent navigator against vexatious detentions, and all the evils of arbitrary search. In committing to foreign officers the power, even in a case of conventional piracy, of arresting, confining, and delivering over for trial, a citizen of the United States, we feel the necessity of guarding his rights from all abuses, and from the application of any laws of a country other than his own.

The draft of a Convention is herewith enclosed, which, if the British Government should agree to treat upon this subject on the basis of a Legislative prohibition of the slave trade by both parties, under the penalties of piracy, you are authorized to propose and to conclude. These articles, however, are not offered, to the exclusion of others which may be proposed on the part of the British Government, nor is any one of them, excepting the first, to be insisted on as indispensable, if others equally adapted to answer their purposes should be proposed. It is only from the consideration of the crime in the character of piracy, that we can admit the visitation of our merchant vessels by foreign officers for any purpose whatever, and in that case only under the most effective responsibility of the officer for the act of visitation itself, and for every thing done under it.

If the sentiments of the British Government should be averse to the principle of declaring the trade itself, by a Legislative act, piratical, you will not propose, or communicate to them, the enclosed project of convention. Its objects, you will distinctly understand, are two-fold : to carry into effect the resolution of the House of Representatives ; and to meet, explicitly and fully, the call so earnestly urged by the British Government, that, in declining the proposals pressed by them upon us, of conceding a mutual and qualified right of search, we should offer a substitute, for their consideration. The substitute, by declaring the crime piracy, carries with it the right of search for the pirates, existing in the very nature



of the crime. But, to the concession of the right of search, distinct from the denomination of the crime, our objections remain in all their original force.

It has been intimated by Mr. S. Canning, that the suggestion itself, to the British Government, of the propriety of their passing a Legislative act, might excite in them some repugnancy to it. We should regret the excitement of this feeling, which the very nature of the negotiation seems to foreclose. Besides the legislative enactments which have virtually been pressed upon us, by all the invitations to concede the right of search, and to subject our citizens to trial for violations of our own laws, by foreign tribunals, Great Britain, in almost all her slave trade treaties, has required, and obtained, express stipulations, for the enactment of prohibitory laws, by France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands. It was not expected that she would receive with reluctance, herself, a mere invitation to that which she had freely and expressly required from others. Still, if the sentiment should exist, we would forbear pressing it to the point of irritation, by importunity. You will, in the first instance, simply state, that, if the British Government is prepared to proclaim the slave trade piracy, by statute, you are authorized to propose, and to conclude, a Convention, by which the mutual co-operation of the naval force of Great Britain and of the United States may be secured, for carrying into effect the law, which on that contingency, will be common to both. Should the obstacle to the preliminary prove insuperable, you will refer the objections, on the part of the British cabinet, to this Government, for consideration.

By the loose information hitherto communicated in the public journals, it would seem that the proposition for recognizing the slave trade as piracy, by the Law of Nations, was discussed at the Congress of Verona. We are expecting the communication of the papers relating to this subject, promised by Lord Liverpool to be laid before Parliament. Heretofore, although the United States have been much solicited and urged to concur in the measures of Great Britain and her allies, for the suppression of the trade, they have been always communicated to us as purposes consummated, to which the accession of the United States was desired. From the general policy of avoiding to intermeddle in European affairs, we have acquiesced in this course of proceeding; but, to carry fully into effect the late resolution of the House of Representatives, and to pursue the discussions, hereafter, with Great Britain herself, whether upon her proposals or upon ours, it is obviously proper, that communication should be made to us of the progress of European negotiation, for ac-

completing the common purpose, while it is in deliberation. If we are to co operate in the result, it is just that we should be consulted, at least, with regard to the means which we are invited to adopt."

## SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

*A Convention for the suppression of Piracy, committed by the African Slave Trade.*

*Article 1.* The two high contracting powers, having each separately, by its own laws, subjected their subjects and citizens, who may be convicted of carrying on the illicit traffick in slaves on the coast of Africa, to the penalties of piracy, do hereby agree to use their influence, respectively, with the other maritime and civilized nations of the world, to the end that the said African slave trade may be recognized, and declared to be, piracy, under the law of nations.

*Article 2.* It is agreed by the two high contracting parties, that the commanders and commissioned officers of either nation, duly authorized under the regulations and instructions of their respective governments, to cruize on the coasts of Africa of America, or of the West Indies, for the suppression of the slave trade, shall be authorized, under the conditions, limitations, and restrictions, hereinafter mentioned, to capture, and deliver over to the duly authorized and commissioned officers of the other, *any ship or vessel carrying on such illicit traffick in slaves, under the flag of the said other nation, or for the account of their subjects or citizens, to be sent in for trial and adjudication by the tribunals of the country to which such slave ship or vessel shall belong.* And the said commanders and commissioned officers shall be further authorized to carry, or send in, any such slave trading ship, so by them captured, into the ports of the country to which such slave trading ship shall belong, for trial by the tribunals, and conformably to the laws, of the said country. But the slave ship, so captured, shall not be sent into the ports, or tried by the tribunals of the captor.

*Article 3.* If any naval commander, or commissioned officer of the United States of America, shall, on the high seas, or any where without the territorial jurisdiction of the said States, board, or cause to be boarded, any merchant vessel of Great Britain, and visit the same as a slave trader, or on suspicion of her being engaged in carrying on the illicit traffick in slaves, in every case, whether the said visited vessel shall be captured and delivered over, or sent into the ports of her own country for trial and adjudication, or not, the boarding officer shall deliver to the master or commander of

the visited vessel a certificate in writing, signed by the said boarding officer with his name, and the addition of his rank in the service of the United States, and the name of the public vessel of the United States, and of her commander, by whose order the said visit shall have been ordered ; and the said certificate shall declare, that the only object of the said visit is to ascertain whether the said British merchant vessel is engaged in the slave trade, or not ; and if found to be so engaged, to take, and deliver her over to the officers, or the tribunals of her own nation, for trial and adjudication. And the commander of the said public vessel of the United States shall, when he delivers her over to the officers or tribunals of Great Britain, deliver all the papers found on board of the captured vessel, indicating her national character, and the objects of her voyage, and with them a like certificate of visitation, in writing, signed by his name, with the addition of his rank in the navy of the United States, and the name of the public vessel commanded by him, together with the name and rank of the boarding officer, by whom the said visit was made. This certificate shall, also, specify all the papers received from the master of the vessel detained, or visited, or found on board the vessel, and shall contain an authentic declaration, exhibiting the state in which he found the vessel detained, and the changes, if any, which have taken place in it, and the number of slaves, if any, found on board at the moment of detention. And the same duties herein described shall devolve upon every commander, or commissioned officer, of the Royal Navy of Great Britain, by whom, or by whose order, any merchant vessel of the United States, or navigating under their flag, shall be visited for the said purposes, and upon the boarding officer by whom the visit shall be effected, on the high seas, or any where without the territorial jurisdiction of Great Britain.

*Article 4.* No merchant vessel of either of the contracting parties, under the convoy of a public vessel of her own nation, shall, under any circumstances whatever, be captured, or visited by, or from, any public vessel of the other nation, as being engaged, or on suspicion of being engaged, in the slave trade.

*Article 5.* No search shall be made by, or under the orders of, the commander or boarding officer of any public vessel of either party visiting any merchant vessel of the other, as being engaged, or under suspicion of being engaged, in the slave trade, excepting such as may be necessary to ascertain if there be slaves on board for the purposes of the said traffic, or other proof that the said vessel is so engaged. No person shall be taken out of the said visited or captured

merchant vessel of either nation, by the commanding officer of the visiting vessel, or under his order. Nor shall any part of the cargo of the said visited vessel be removed out of her, until delivered over to the officers, or tribunals, of her own nation.

*Article 6.* When a merchant vessel of either nation shall be captured, as being engaged in the slave trade, by any commander, or commissioned officer, of the Navy of the other nation, it shall be the duty of the commander of any public ship of the Navy of the nation to which the captured vessel shall belong, upon the offer thereof being made to him by the commander of the capturing vessel, to receive into his custody the vessel so captured, and to carry, or send, the same into the ports of his own country, for trial and adjudication. And at the time of the delivery of the said vessel, an authentic declaration shall be drawn up, in triplicates, signed by both the commanders of the delivering and of the receiving vessels, one copy of which shall be kept by each of them, stating the circumstances of the delivery; the condition of the vessel captured, at the time of the delivery; the number of slaves, if any, on board of her; a list of all the papers received, or found on board of her at the time of capture, and delivered over with her, and the names of the master, or commander, of the captured vessel, and of every person on board of her, other than the slaves, at the said time of delivery; and the third copy of the said declaration shall be transmitted with the said captured vessel, and the papers found on board of her, to one of the ports of the country to which the said captured vessel shall belong, to be produced before the tribunal appointed, or authorized, to decide upon the said capture; and the commander of the said capturing vessel shall be authorized to send the boarding officer, and one or two of his crew, with the said captured vessel, to appear as witnesses of the facts in relation to her capture and detention, before the said tribunal. The reasonable expenses of which witnesses, in proceeding to the place of trial, during their necessary detention there, and for their return to their own country, or to rejoin their station in its service, shall be allowed by the tribunal of trial; and in case of the condemnation of the captured vessel, be defrayed from the proceeds of the sale thereof, and in case of the acquittal of the said vessel, they shall be paid by the government of the capturing officer.

*Article 7.* The commander or commissioned officer, of the Navy of either of the contracting parties, having captured a merchant vessel of the other as being engaged in the slave trade, if there be no public vessel of the nation to which the said captured vessel belongs, cruizing upon the same station.

to the commander of whom the said captured vessel may be delivered over as stipulated in the preceding article, shall carry or send the said captured vessel to some convenient port of her own country, there to be delivered up to the competent tribunal, for trial and adjudication. And the said captured vessel shall there be libelled, in the name and behalf of the captors; and in case of the condemnation of the said vessel, the proceeds of the sale thereof and of her cargo, if also condemned, shall be paid to the commander of the said capturing vessel, for the benefit of the captors; to be distributed according to the established rules of the service of the nation to which such capturing vessel shall belong, for the distribution of prize money.

*Article 8.* The captain, or commander and crew, of the said vessel so captured and sent in for trial and adjudication, shall be proceeded against conformably to the laws of the country, whereinto they shall be so brought upon the charge of piracy, by being engaged in the African slave trade; and the captain, or commander, the boarding officer, and other persons belonging to the capturing vessel, shall be competent witnesses to the facts relating to the said charge and to the capture of the said vessel, to which they shall be personally knowing: But every such witness, upon the criminal trial for piracy, shall be liable to be challenged by the person accused, and set aside as incompetent, unless he shall release and renounce all his individual claim to any part of the prize money, upon the condemnation of the vessel and cargo.

*Article 9.* It is agreed between the high contracting parties, that the right of visiting, capturing, and delivering over for trial, the vessels engaged in the African slave trade, and assuming their respective flags, is mutually conceded to the officers of their respective Navies, on the consideration that they have, by their respective laws, declared their citizens and subjects, actively participating in the said traffic, guilty of the crime of piracy.

That no part of this Convention shall be so construed as to authorize the detention, search, or visitation, of the merchant vessels of either nation, by the public officers of the Navy of the other, except vessels engaged in the African slave trade, or for any other purpose whatever than that of seizing and delivering up the persons and vessels concerned in that traffic, for trial and adjudication, by the tribunals and laws of their own country.

*Article 10.* It is further agreed, that this right of visiting, detaining, and delivering over for trial, vessels engaged in the slave trade, shall be exercised only by the commissioned officers of the Navy of the parties, respectively, furnished with

instructions from their respective governments, for the execution of their respective laws for the suppression of the slave trade. That the boarding officer, and the captain, or commander, of the vessel exercising these rights, or either of them, shall be personally responsible in damages and costs to the master and owners of every merchant vessel so by them delivered over, detained, or visited, for every vexatious or abusive exercise of the right. In the case of every vessel delivered over, as herein stipulated, for trial, the tribunal shall be competent to receive the complaint of the master, owner, or owners, or of any person on board of such captured vessel, or interested in the property of her cargo at the time of her detention, and on suitable proof of such vexatious or abusive detention or visitation, to award reasonable damages and costs to the sufferers, to be paid by the said commanding or boarding officer, or either of them, so charged with vexatious or abusive detention, or visit. And the high contracting parties agree, that their respective governments shall, in every such case, cause payment to be made of all such damages and costs so awarded, to the persons so entitled to receive them, within twelve months from the date of such award. And if any case of such vexatious or abusive detention, or visit, should occur, in which the vessel detained or visited shall not be delivered over for trial and adjudication, as herein provided, the commander and boarding officer by whom such vexatious and abusive detention, or visit, shall have been made, shall, also, be responsible in costs and damages to the sufferers, upon complaint before the competent Admiralty Court of the country of the said commander and boarding officer. And the respective governments shall, in like manner, cause payment to be made of any damages and costs awarded by said court, within twelve months from the date of the award.

*Article 11.* A copy of this Convention, and of the laws of the two countries actually in force, for the prohibition and suppression of the African slave trade, shall be furnished to every commander of the public vessels, instructed to carry into effect such prohibition. And in case any such commanding officer of the Navy of the United States, or of Great Britain, shall deviate in any respect from the dispositions of this treaty, and from the instructions of his government, conformable to it, the government which shall conceive itself to be wronged by such conduct, shall be entitled to demand reparation; and in such case the government of the nation, to the service of which he may belong, binds itself to cause inquiry to be made into the subject of the complaint, and to inflict upon him, if he be found to have deserved it, a punishment

proportioned to the transgression which may have been committed.

*Article 12.* The present treaty, consisting of ——— articles, shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within one year from this date, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and thereunto affixed their seals.

Done at ———, the ——— day of ———, in the year of our Lord,

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*Mr. Adams to Mr. Middleton.—No. 17.*

Department of State, Washington, 23th July, 1823.

SIR : At the close of the last Session of Congress, a resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives, almost unanimously, requesting “ the President of the United States to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.”

In pursuance of this resolution, instructions for carrying it into effect have been given to the Ministers of the United States, destined to the Republics of Colombia and of Buenos Ayres, and to the Minister who has recently departed for Spain. But, as a negotiation for co-operation to effect the suppression of the African slave trade, had already been commenced with Great Britain, a special instruction upon the subject was forwarded to Mr. Rush, together with a full power, and a draft of a Convention, to be proposed, in substance, to that government, and which he has been authorized to conclude.

A copy of that instruction and draft are herewith enclosed; the general terms of which you will communicate, at such time, and in such manner, to the Imperial Russian Government, as you shall think proper.

You will, also, communicate to them the purport of the resolution of the House of Representatives, above cited, and copies of the laws of the United States prohibiting the slave trade. You will particularly invite their attention to the two sections of the Act of the 15th May, 1820, by which this offence, when committed by citizens of the United States, is subjected to the penalties of piracy.

The proposal that this principle should be recognized by the general consent of civilized nations, recommended by the resolution of the House of Representatives, appears to be

substantially the same with that made by Great Britain at the Congress of Verona. It was not acceded to by any one of the other powers there assembled, and the conferences on this subject terminated there by a mere renewal of the joint declaration against the traffic, of the Congress at Vienna. So long as the trade shall not be recognized as piracy by the law of nations, we cannot, according to our Constitution, subject our citizens to trial for being engaged in it, by any tribunal other than those of the United States.

The admission of the crime as piracy by the law of nations, would seem necessarily to subject the perpetrators of it to *capture*, by the armed force of every nation. And this might endanger the lawful commerce of the maritime nations, by subjecting them to the abuses of vexatious searches, without some special provision to guard against them.

This is the object of the stipulations proposed in the draft herewith transmitted ; requiring that all vessels of one nation which may be captured, as slave traders, by the cruisers of another, should be delivered over for trial, to the tribunals of their *own* country.

You will see that Mr. Rush is instructed to correspond with you upon this subject. If the draft of the articles enclosed should lead to the conclusion of a Convention between the United States and Great Britain, a communication of it to the Russian Government will be made as soon as possible, and we shall propose that his Imperial Majesty's accession to it, if agreeable to him, shall be invited.

In the mean time you will informally suggest to his ministry, that it will be the desire of the Government of the United States to proceed in this matter, in perfect good understanding and harmony with them ; and you will farther intimate that, as this has now become a general concern of the whole civilized world, and as Great Britain is negotiating, *jointly* and *severally*, with each and every of her allies in Europe, apart, and again with them all together, while she is also separately treating with us, we wish it to be considered whether it would not be expedient on all sides, that communication should be made to us of all the jointly concerted measures while they are mere proposals ; and not that the knowledge of them should be withheld from us, until they are matured into positive treaties.

I am, with great respect, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

HENRY MIDDLETON,

Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary of the  
United States, at St. Petersburg.



*Mr. Adams to Mr. Everett.*—No. 10.

Department of State, Washington, August 8th, 1823.

SIR: At the close of the last Session of Congress, a resolution was adopted, almost unanimously, by the House of Representatives, "That the President of the United States be requested to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time such negotiations, with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African Slave Trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world."

In pursuance of this resolution, instructions for carrying it into effect have been given to the ministers of the United States, destined to the Republics of Colombia and of Buenos Ayres, and to the several ministers of the United States in Europe.

As a negotiation for co-operation, to effect the suppression of the African slave trade, had already been commenced with Great Britain, a special instruction upon the subject has been forwarded to Mr. Rush, together with a full power, and a draft of a Convention to be proposed, in substance, to the British government, and which he is authorized to conclude.

A necessary preliminary to the conclusion of this proposed Convention, should it meet the assent of the British government, will be the enactment of a statute declaring the crime of African slave trading, piracy by the British law. In that event, it is proposed, by proper co-operation, that the influence of the two powers should be exerted, to obtain the consent of other nations to the general outlawry of this traffick, as piracy. In the mean time to give, at once, effect to the concert of both nations, it is proposed that the armed vessels of both, duly authorized and *instructed*, shall have power to *capture* the slave trading vessels which may assume the flag of *either*, and, if not of their own nation, to deliver over the captured slave trader to the officers, or tribunals of his own country, for trial and adjudication.

This principle is essential, as connected with that of constituting the traffick piracy, by the law of nations. So long as the offence was considered as of inferior magnitude, the Constitution of the United States forbade the submission of it, when charged upon their citizens to any foreign tribunal: and when the crime and the punishment are aggravated, to involve the life of the accused, it affords but a more imperative inducement for securing to him the benefit of a trial by his countrymen and his peers.

It appears that, at the conferences of Verona, the proposed

tion was made by the British government, that the slave trade should be recognised and proclaimed as piracy by the law of nations. We have, therefore, reason to hope, that the proposal now made to them, on the part of the United States, will be favourably considered by them. In that case, further communications on the subject, with other governments, will ensue.

In the mean time, to fulfil the intentions of the House of Representatives, in relation to the Netherlands, you will communicate to their government a copy of the resolution, together with copies of the laws of the United States, prohibiting the slave trade, with particular notice of the two sections of the act of 15th May, 1820, by which the crime of being concerned in the African slave trade, when committed by citizens of the United States, is declared to be, and is made punishable as for piracy. And you will announce the readiness of the American government, should it suit the views of His Majesty, the King of the Netherlands, to enter upon a negotiation, for the purpose of carrying into effect the object of the resolution of the House of Representatives; namely, the denunciation of the African slave trade as piracy, by the law of nations.

I am, with great respect, sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT, Esq.

*Charge d'Affaires U. S. to the Netherlands*

*Extracts of a letter, No. 6, from Mr. Adams to General Dearborn, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, at Lisbon, dated*

Department of State, Washington, August 14, 1823.

At the close of the last session of Congress, a resolution was adopted, almost unanimously, by the House of Representatives—

“ That the President of the United States be requested to enter upon, and to prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.”

“ A negotiation, for concerting measures of co-operation to effect the suppression of the African slave trade, had already for several years been pending with Great Britain; for which reason, a special instruction has been transmitted to Mr. Rush, together with a full power, and a draft of a convention

to be proposed, in substance, to the British government, and which he is authorized to conclude.

"Should this proposal meet the assent of the British government, a necessary preliminary to the conclusion of the convention will be the passage of an act of Parliament, declaring the crime of African slave trading, when committed by British subjects, piracy. An act of Congress to that effect, as relates to citizens of the United States, has been in force, as you are aware, these three years. When the crime shall have been constituted piracy by the statute law of both countries, each with reference to its own citizens, or subjects, the principle offered by the projected convention is, that the armed vessels of each, specially empowered and instructed to that end, shall be authorized to *capture* slave trading vessels, assuming the flag of the other, and to deliver over the captured vessels to the public cruizers, or to the tribunals, of their own country, for trial. This plan is offered as a substitute for that which was offered to us by Great Britain, which was predicated on the treaties already concluded between that power and Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands. The leading principle of these treaties was the mutual concession of the right of maritime search, in time of peace, to the armed vessels of both, cruising for slave traders, and a mixed court of commissioners and arbitrators, sitting in colonial possessions of the parties, for the trial of the delinquents. To this system the United States have steadily declined to accede, for two reasons: One, because they had an invincible repugnance to subject their merchant vessels to the maritime search of foreign officers, in time of peace; and the other, because they could not subject their citizens to the jurisdiction of foreign tribunals, upon trials for offences against their laws.

"At the conferences of Verona, the British government appears to have proposed, that the African slave trade should be declared piracy by the law of nations. This is the same proposition recommended by the resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States. The ultimate object of the United States, and of Great Britain, therefore, is the same."

"The negotiations suggested by the resolution of the House, must depend, materially, for their character and progress, with reference to other powers, upon the event of that which is thus pending with Great Britain. The instructions to the ministers of the United States in other countries have, therefore, been only of a general character."

"Portugal is the only maritime power of Europe, which has not yet declared the African slave trade, without excep-

tion, unlawful. Her own internal situation has, perhaps, recently tended to diminish the influence of those interests, which have heretofore prevailed to delay and postpone her acquiescence in the principle of total proscription upon that trade : It is hoped that she will not much longer resist the predominating spirit of the age, calling so loudly upon the Rulers of mankind, effectually to put down the crying sin of that abominable traffic.

“ In communicating to the Portuguese government copies of the resolution of the House of Representatives, and of the laws of the United States prohibiting the slave trade, you will state, that the Government of the United States will be ready to enter, at any time, when it may suit the views of that of Portugal, upon the negotiation contemplated by the resolution.”

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*Mr. Rush to Mr. Adams, giving him the substance of a conversation with Mr. Canning. [EXTRACTS.]*

“ London, October 9, 1823.

“ This latter subject,” (the slave trade) “ he said it was his wish to take in hand with me himself, and thus keep it detached from the general negotiation.”

“ Whilst we were speaking of the mode of taking up the question of the slave trade, I did not scruple to intimate, even at this early stage, that unless this Government was prepared to say, that it would cause a statute to be passed, declaring the trade by its own subjects to be piracy, and rendering it punishable as such, in manner, as had been done by the United States, that I was not authorized to make any proposals upon the subject ; that this, in fact, was the only basis upon which it fell within the intentions of my Government to attempt any arrangement of the subject whatever. I was happy to hear Mr. Canning say, in reply, that he did not, speaking from his first impressions, see any insurmountable obstacle, upon this score, to our proceeding with the subject.”

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*Extract from No. 11 of Mr. Sheldon, Charge d'Affaires of the United States at Paris, to the Secretary of State.*

“ Paris, October 16, 1823.

“ In the same conference, I also informed Mr. de Chateaubriand of the resolution of the House of Representatives respecting the slave trade, which made the subject of your despatch, No. 2, of the 14th of August. He repeated, in substance, what he had before stated to Mr. Gallatin in conversation, viz. that the French government were sincerely desirous of putting an end to that trade, and were taking all the

measures in their power to effect it by pursuing offenders, and executing rigidly the laws now in existence ; but that the public opinion, generally, in France, and more especially in the Chambers, was against it, owing not only to the prevalence of the colonial interest in the question, but particularly to the circumstances under which their stipulations with England upon this subject had been made ; so tender were they upon this point, that the proposition of adding new rigors to their laws, would be taken as a new concession to that power, and, instead of being adopted in the Chambers, would be more likely to provoke an attempt to repeal the prohibitory measures already established, in order to rid themselves, in that way, of one of the charges imposed upon them by the foreign occupation ; that time was necessary to wear away these impressions ; and until that should have arrived, no minister in France could be strong enough, upon this point, to do more than to watch over the execution of the laws already in force, which they were now disposed to do fully and faithfully, and which, if not entirely efficient, at least made the prosecution of the trade under the French flag hazardous and difficult.

“ At present, therefore, it is not probable that France will consent to the proposal of the President, to enter upon the negotiation contemplated by the resolution of the House of Representatives. I have, however, made the proposal, in obedience to your directions ; and have the honour to enclose a copy of the letter to Viscount de Chateaubriand, in which I have communicated to him that resolution.”

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*Extracts from No. 14 of Mr. Sheldon. Charge d'Affaires, to the Secretary of State, dated*

“ Paris, November 5, 1823.

“ I have received answers from Viscount de Chateaubriand, on the subject of the new and more effective measures proposed against the slave trade.”

“ On the subject of the slave trade, the answer manifests a disposition to adopt such new provisions as may be found necessary for its more effectual suppression ; and this disposition really exists ; but, after what Mr. de Chateaubriand had stated in conversation, and which I have already communicated, these new and more rigorous legislative provisions can only be introduced gradually, and sometime will be required for effecting that purpose.”

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*Mr. Sheldon to the Viscount de Chateaubriand.*

Paris, October 15, 1823.

SIR : The minister of the United States to this Court had,

sometime before he left Paris, transmitted to your Excellency copies of the laws successively adopted by the United States for the suppression of the slave trade. This communication was intended for the special purpose of making the French government acquainted with the fact, that, so far as the United States were concerned, their legislation upon this subject had been ineffectual; that their laws had been violated, and the trade had continued, until they had denounced against it the highest punishment that a human tribunal can inflict.— Since it has been declared to be piracy, and punishable with death, the American flag has no longer been soiled with it.

At the last session of Congress, that body, desirous that the co-operation of the other maritime powers might be obtained in measures which we had found to be so effectual, formally requested the President to enter upon, and prosecute, negotiations with those powers, to that end. I have the honour to enclose a copy of the resolution adopted, with great unanimity, by the House of Representatives, upon that subject: and I am directed to declare, that the President is ready to enter upon the negotiation contemplated by it with France, whenever it may be agreeable to her. Instructions to the same effect have been given to all the ministers of the United States accredited to foreign powers, and the favourable results which are hoped from them will be made known at the earliest opportunities, to the French government. It may be expected that a co-operation in measures equally effectual with those heretofore brought forward for the suppression of this trade, and not open to similar objections, will be generally and readily afforded. I beg to offer to your Excellency the renewed assurances, &c. &c.

D. SHELDON.

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[TRANSLATION.]

*Viscount de Chateaubriand to Mr. Sheldon.*

Paris, October 29, 1823.

SIR: You did me the honour of writing me, on the 15th of this month, that the Government of the United States had only attained the effectual suppression of the slave trade by making it piracy, and by rendering those guilty of it liable to the same punishment. You have, at the same time, informed me, that that Government was disposed to co-operate with the other powers, by negotiating to attain, by the same means, the complete and general abolition of this traffic.

The communication which you did me the honour to address to me, cannot but deserve great consideration. I have requested the Keeper of the Seals to review, with great care, the laws and ordinances which have been made in

France, for obtaining the abolition of the trade : to certify, after this examination, in what points they may be insufficient, and to propose, for completing them, in case of need, all the new dispositions which might accord with the independence and rights of the flag, and which might appear most proper to assure, in France, in an efficacious manner, the absolute cessation of a traffic so contrary to the rights of humanity.

Accept, sir, the assurances, &c.

CHATEAUBRIAND.

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*Extract of a letter from Mr. Everett, Charge d'Affaires, to the Secretary of State, dated*

“Brussels, November 20, 1823.

“I have received from the Baron de Nagell, a preliminary answer to my note of the 7th, upon the slave trade, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy.”

[TRANSLATION.]

*Mr. Everett to Baron de Nagell.*

Brussels, November 7, 1823.

SIR : I have the honour to subjoin to your Excellency, by order of my government, a printed copy of the laws of the United States, which forbid their citizens to pursue the slave trade ; also, a copy of the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 8th of February, 1823, by which the President is requested to concert, with the maritime powers of Europe and of America, the measures which may be most proper to effect the abolition of that trade, and to make it, by the universal consent of the civilized world, equivalent to the crime of piracy.

Your Excellency will remark, that it is already viewed in this light by the laws of the United States. The act of 15th of March, 1820, declares, (sect. 4 and 5) that the persons subject to the jurisdiction of the republic, who shall be engaged in the slave trade, either by seizing these unfortunates by force, or fraud, and carrying them on board their vessels, or by keeping them there, and making them an object of traffic, shall be deemed pirates, and punished with death.

In fact, this pretended commerce bears all the characteristics of piracy : that is, of felony committed on the sea. And, as it has been denounced as a crime by the greater part of civilized nations, it ought to fall into the particular class of crimes to which it naturally belongs, and undergo the penalties which the usage and the law of nations impose upon them. An unanimous declaration of the Christian powers, to this effect, would inevitably produce the entire cessation of

the trade. The public ships of each power would then be authorized, by the law of nations, to cruize against the persons who might be engaged in it, without regard to the colour of the flag with which they might pretend to be sheltered. Whilst, if the trade is only regarded, in each country, as an offence against the municipal laws, it would be lawful for any one nation alone, by permitting it, to afford an asylum under its flag, to the pirates of all the others.

The known character of the King, and the zeal which his Majesty has already displayed in his efforts to bring about the abolition of this infamous commerce, furnishes a presumption to the government of the United States, that that of the Low Countries will voluntarily co operate with it to that effect. In communicating to your Excellency the subjoined papers, and in praying that you will be pleased to lay them before the King, I am charged to announce to him the desire of the President of the United States to obtain the co-operation of his Majesty in this work of justice, and to establish a concert between the two powers, in the measures which they may pursue, in common, to render the slave trade equivalent to the crime of piracy, by the universal consent of the Christian world.

I eagerly embrace this occasion to renew to your Excellency the homage of my most distinguished consideration.

A. H. EVERETT.

[TRANSLATION.]

*Baron De Nagell to Mr. Everett.*

Brussels, November 13, 1823.

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 7th of this month, containing some propositions in regard to the slave trade, and to inform you, that, without delay, I laid this paper, and its enclosures, before the King.

I shall hasten to impart to you the determination of his Majesty, as soon as I shall have been informed of it; and, in the mean time, I seize this opportunity to renew the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

A. W. C. DE NAGELL.



N. B. The Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society will be held in Washington City, on the second Saturday in January. Of the hour and place public notice will be given.

The Managers hope to commence the African Repository on the first of June. Those having subscription lists in their possession, are requested to forward them immediately. Communications for this work, must be transmitted to R. R. Gurley, Georgetown.

It is much to be desired that collections should be taken up in the various churches of this country, to aid the American Colonization Society, on the fourth of July, or on the Sabbath next preceding, or succeeding this joyful day.

The Colonization Society is about to apply to the National Government for aid. We hope that all the friends of this institution will make every possible effort in its favour, the present season, recollecting that a discussion will probably take place concerning it during the next session of Congress.

Orders for this Report may be addressed to Davis and Force, Washington. Price 50 cents.

*Census of the Colony of Liberia, July 20, 1823.*

## UPWARDS OF 40.

Names.	Arrived in.	Occupation.
N. Butler,	Elizabeth,	Carpenter.
G. Kiah,	Strong,	Farmer.
R. Sampson,	Nautilus,	do.
L. Carey,	do.	do.
I. Brander,	do.	Carpenter,
D. Hawkins,	Strong,	Labourer.
A. Edmondson,	do.	Farmer.
E. Johnson,	Elizabeth,	do.
James Fuller,	Oswego.	
J. D. Preston,	do.	
Jos. Blake,	Elizabeth,	Carpenter.
J. Warner,	Oswego.	
Chs. Butler,	do.	
B. Johnson,	do.	
L. Smith,	do.	
I. Bantam,	do.	
John Foulke,	Fidelity,	Labourer.
John Harris,	do.	
Saml. Weeks,	do.	
Saml. Nutter,	do.	

## WOMEN.

S. Langford,	Nautilus,	Nurse.
Mrs. Hawkins,	Strong,	
Can'd. Preston,	Oswego,	
S. Warner,	do.	
C. Brown,	do.	

## BETWEEN 21 AND 40.

L. Crook,	Elizabeth,	Farmer.
C. Brander,	Nautilus,	do.
J. Benson,	Strong,	do.
S. Campbell,	do. supend-	
	ed June 1,	1823.

J. Champer,	Strong,	Blacksmith.
J. Gardiner,	do.	Farmer.
J. Lawrence,	Elizabeth,	do.
D. George,	Strong,	do.
R. Newport,	Elizabeth,	do.
F. James,	do.	Carpenter.
A. James,	do.	Farmer.
E. Jackson,	do.	Labourer.
J. J. Barber,	Nautilus,	Mason.
J. Carey,	do. deserted	
	July, 1823.	

Th: Harris,	do.	Caulker.
A. Williams,	Oswego.	
R. White,	Oswego,	Carpenter.
D. White,	do.	Shoemaker.
Fr. Deveny,	do.	
A. Curtis,	do.	
D. James,	do.	
S. W. Parker,	do.	

N. Clinton,	Oswego.
I. Boggs,	do.
T. Stewart,	do.
G. Mason,	do.

## WOMEN.

S. Draper,	Oswego.
N. Poulson,	do.
N. Bantam,	do.
C. Johnson,	do.
M. Thompson,	do.
M. Butler,	do.
N. Butler,	do.
M. Newport,	Elizabeth.
M. Crook,	do.
E. James,	Strong.
M. Draper,	Elizabeth.
H. Lawren,	do.
A. Edmondson,	Strong.
R. Benson,	do.
C. James,	Elizabeth.
R. Johnson,	do.
J. Jackson,	do.
S. Brander,	do.
H. Harris,	Nautilus.

## BETWEEN 10 AND 21.

E. Smith,	Elizabeth.
James Carey,	Nautilus.
I. Edmondson,	Strong.
L. Johnson,	do.
C. Johnson,	Elizabeth.
L. Johnson,	do.
I. Thompson,	Oswego.
A. Warner,	do.
I. Preston,	do.
I. Brown,	do.
William Foulke,	Fidelity.

## FEMALES.

E. Jackson,	Elizabeth.
Nancy Carey,	Nautilus.
N. Benson,	Strong.
E. Passaway,	do.
S. Edmondson,	do.
M. Benson,	do.
I. Johnson,	Oswego.
R. Preston,	do.
M. Preston,	do.
Mary Preston,	do.
L. Poulson,	do.
M. Curtis,	do.
T. Thompson,	do.
M. Warner,	do.
E. Johnson,	do.
J. Dolphin,	do.

## UNDER 10.

Names.	Arrived in.
J. Benson,	Strong.
G. Benson,	do.
J. Alexander,	Elizabeth.
I. Alexander,	Born here.
A. Edmondson,	Strong.
I. Blake,	do.
I. Brander,	Born here.
D. Harris,	Nautilus.
F. Stewart,	Oswego.

## FEMALE CHILDREN.

E. Johnson,	Born in Africa.
E. Blake,	Strong.

E. Crook,	Born in Africa.
M. Laurence,	do.
G. Laurence,	do.
E. Edmondson,	Strong.
W. Edmondson,	do.
R. Benson,	do.
S. Fisher,	do.
R. Laurence,	Born in Africa
S. Draper,	Oswego.
C. Preston,	do.
A. B. Butler,	do.
S. Warner,	do.
M. Warner,	do.
C. Dodges,	do.

## DEATHS.

Mrs. Kiah, aged 70, died fever,.....	September, 1822.
Major Draper, 40, do.....	September, 1822.
Alexander, 33, Elizabeth,.....	drowned June, 1822.
Mrs. Blake, 30, Strong, .....	Ptisis, October, 1822.
Jos. Benson, 17, killed by enemy,.....	November 11, 1822.
Th: Spencer, 33, do. do.....	do.
Mary Tines, do. do.....	do.
Th: Tines, 28, Strong,.....	killed Dec. 1st. 1822.
Mrs. Edmondson, 80, Strong,.....	Decay, June, 1823.
John Warner, 19, Oswego,.....	drowned, June, 1823.
Mrs. Stewart, 20, do.....	fever, June, 1823.
Mrs. Deveny, 24, do.. ..	do. June, 1823.
James Fuller, 16, do.....	do. June, 1823.
Frs. Deveny, 4, do.....	do. July, 1823.
Isaiah Preston, 20, Oswego,.....	do. June, 1823.
Emeline Deveny, 2 do... ..	do. July, 1823.
G. Johnson, 1, do.....	do. June, 1823.
M. D. Warner, 1, do. do.....	do. June, 1823.
— Stewart, born Oswego,.....	do. July, 1823.
Abel Herd, 42, Oswego, .....	do. June, 1823.

## SUMMARY.

*Now in the Colony.*

Over 40, Males,.....20—Females.....5—Total	25
Between 21 and 40, Males 26—Females.....19—do....	45
Between 10 and 21, Males 11—Females.....16—do ...	27
Under 10, Males,.. .. 9—Females.....16—do....	25
Total of the Colonists,.....	122
Liberated Captives, all Males,.....	18
Grand Total,.....	140

*Deaths of Colonists at Montserado.*

Persons over 4 of both sexes,.....	4
Do 21 and under 40 do.....	5
Do. under 21 both sexes,.....	11
Total died since March, 1822,.....	20

J. ASHMUN.

N. B.—Since this census was taken, more than 100 persons have sailed in the *Cyrus*.

## DONATIONS.

*List of Donations from the citizens of Baltimore, in aid of the Colonization Society, May, 1822.\**

Robert Miller, Esq. 90 yards domestic cotton,.....	11 25
Talbot Jones, Esq. 25 do. tow cloth,.....	5 00
Messrs. Tiffany and Wyman, 1 piece containing — yards domestic cotton,.....	5 50
Mr. Wm. Little, house of Cobb & Little, 1 piece domestic cotton	5 00
Messrs. Shaw and Tiffany, 1 piece domestic cotton, containing 29 1-2 yards,.....	5 50
Messrs. Cushing and Jewett, Ewell's Medical Companion,.....	5 00
Dr. S. Sweetser, assorted medicines, .....	5 63
Drs. D. & C. Keener, assorted medicines,.....	6 92
Dr. Geo. Williamson, assorted medicines,.....	9 40
Ditto View of Slavery,.....	25
Ditto Tourtell's Principles of Health,....	5 00
General R. G. Harper, school books and books of agriculture,....	40 00
Ditto other valuable books, maps, &c.....	30 00
Messrs. M'Donald and Ridgely, corner of Market and Howard Streets, 2 barrels of beef, price unknown,.....	
Drs. G. & J. Kearl, medicines,.....	2 50
Drs. Pease and Butler, medicines,.....	2 50
Drs. E. Ducatel & Son, assorted medicines,.....	5 95
Dr. R. Little, corner of M. and Hanr. streets, assorted medicines,	3 9½
Dr. H. Price, (opposite Barnum's) assorted medicines,.....	1 50
Dr. La Roche and Milheau, near bridge, medicines,.....	1 2½
Mr. Joseph Casey, Hanover street, assorted garden, fruit, and other seeds,.....	56 00
Thomas Smith, No. 8. Prate street, 12 plates,.....	1 50
Mr. Proctor, Hd. Ware Merch. No. 3 Prate st. 12 knives & forks,	1 50
Isaac Tyson, ship bread,.....	20 00
Gen. Wm. McDonald, & Son, 1 qr. cask gun powder,.....	5 00
Ditto 1 box pipes,.....	2 50
Mr. Mears, No. 1, Prate st. 1 doz. knives, (pocket).....	2 00
Bradford and Couch, 1 barrel flour,.....	6 75
Messrs. H. Payson & Co. No. 15, Bowley's wharf, 2 barrels beef, at \$8 50,.....	17 00
Gen. Hollingsworth and Sons, cash,.....	10 00
Mr. Hammers, Market street; 12 decanters, 12 tumblers, 1 box beads, 5 looking-glasses,.....	12 00
Mr. I. Cox, hatter, 4 hats at 75 each,.....	3 00
Mr. Egerton, exchange, 300 lbs. leaf tobacco and hogshead,.....	24 00
Mr. Hoppe, Gay street, 100 lbs. leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Mr. Graffs, do. 100 lbs. leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Messrs. Von Kopff and Brun, 100 lbs leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Mr. Rudewold, 100 lbs. leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Mr. Hogerworth, Gay street, 100 lbs. leaf tobacco,.....	8 00
Messrs. I. and A. Smith, Calvert, near the water, some articles of hardware,.....	5 50
Mr. Kearle, shoemaker, Market street, 6 pair of shoes,.....	6 00

\* This list should have been published at an earlier date.

Young Men's Bible Society, Balt. 15 Bibles and 15 Testaments,	24 00
Mr. James Chester, his sub. Md. Aux. Col. Society,.....	25 00
Col. Jno. McHenry, on his subscription as above,.....	20 00
Mrs. Graham, cash,.....	3 00
Mr. Charles Salmon, various articles of merchandise,.....	4 56
Mr. Neelson, 12 knives and forks,.....	1 50
Messrs. J. & W. Smith, 24 knives and forks,.....	3 00
Mr. Warchi, 100 lbs. tobacco,.....	8 00
The ladies of Baltimore, about 55 in number, from 2 to 6 days work each, in making up 154 garments,.....	100 00
Mr. G. B. Raymond, 6 hats,.....	4 00
Mr. P. Diffendaffer, cor. of Fred. and Balt. 8 knives and 2 pots,	3 00
Alex. Boggs, Market street, sundries merchandise, price unknown,	
Mr. Warner, corner Gay and Market st. stationery and books,..	8 00
Gen. Ridgeley, Gay street, 6 bars iron, wt.....	9 00
Mr. N. Tysen, Spears' wharf, on his subscription,.....	25 00
Beck and Welch, 2 pieces containing 9 yds. red flannel,.....	20 50
Mr. Baltzell, Market st. No. 241, remnants of merchandise,.....	1 75
Mr. Baltzell, do. 230, merchandise, 16 check hdkfs....	1 50
Mr. Baltzell, do. 236, do. 16 check handkerchiefs,....	2 00
Mr. Robinson, Howard street, delivered cedar ware,.....	4 25
Mr. Solman, do. delivered remnant merchandise,..	2 50
Mr. Bryne, do. delivered pair shoes,.....	1 00
John E. Rigden, Market, No. 197, delivered knives, and forks, and spoons,.....	1 50
Mr. Sweetser, Market, No. 150, delivered remnants merchandise,	1 75
Jacob Albers, Howard, delivered 1 dozen jack knives.....	2 00
Wm. Reanie, Great York street, delivered 1-2 dozen plates,....	25
Drs. Coulter and Martin, 1 bottle mercurial ointment,.....	2 60
Mr. Earnest, a variety of queens ware articles,.....	5 00
Col. John E. Howard, don. plaid 22 1-4 yards, 28 shirting, 9 1-2 calico, 8 hdkfs.....	12 82
Also 3 dozen spoons,.....	3 00
3 dozen tin cups,..	3 00
3 stew pans,.....	1 00
Mr. Lamson, delivered 1 hat,.....	75
Sunday School Society, delivered cards, &c. for Sunday schools,	
Samuel Hoffman, Esq. box leaf tobacco,.....	10 00
Ditto. Marked tobacco samples,.....	12 00
Messrs. Murray, & Co. 2 pieces linen.....	6 00
Ditto 1 do. flannel, 2 50,.....	2 50
Ditto 5 Blankets at 75,.....	4 50
Mr. Middleton, 1 gross buttons,.....	1 00
Mr. Taylor, auctioneer, merchandise,.....	5 00
Mr. Sinclair, garden and other seeds,.....	16 00
Mr. Skinner, do. ....	6 00
Mr. Laud,.....	1 00
Messrs. E. J. Coale, & Co. books, boxes, &c. &c. ....	40 00
Editors of the Morning Chronicle, and editors of the Federal Re- publican, two valuable files of the latest newspapers.	

*Donations received in Baltimore in April, 1823.*

From a lady,.....	1 00	A lady,.....	2 00
A lady,.....	2 00	Citizens of the eleventh ward, 43	00
S. R. Keane,.....	1 50	Citizens in the tenth ward, ..	35 0
Collection in Rev. Mr. Ne- vin's church,.....	40 00	A lady,.....	2 00
Mr. Patterson,.....	1 00	Another lady,.....	1 00
		A gentleman,.....	1 00

Thomas George and Thomas, various articles given to Abel Herd,.....	45 00
Mr. John Barr, one piece of cloth,.....	60 00
Messrs. Shaw and Tiffany,..	5 00
Wm. W. Taylor, one box merchandise and goods,	
Brundige Vose, & Co.,.....	3 00
Cash,.....	50
Cash,.....	1 00
Mr. Creery's school,.....	1 70
Made up by the Ladies, 100 shirts, 50 roundabouts, and 50 waistcoats,.....	50 00
Nightengale & Co. hardware merchants,.....	2 25

*Donations received in the District  
of Columbia.*

Collection in Dr. Balch's church, Georgetown,.....	35 00
In Dr. Wilmer's church, Alex	110 00
In this sum are included the following donations and annual subscriptions:	
Judge Cranch,.....	30 00
Miss Landonia Randolph,..	10 00
Wm. H. Fitzhugh, Esq.,.....	10 00
Mrs. Custis (Arlington),.....	7 00

*Annual Subscribers.*

Hugh Smith,.....	1 00
E. I. Lee,.....	1 00
Humphrey Peak,.....	1 00
R. C. Mason,.....	5 00
C. C. Lee,.....	1 00
G. W. P. Custis, Esq.,.....	1 00

*Donations received from various in-  
dividuals in Washington and  
Georgetown.*

J. P. Fenner,.....	1 00
Rev. Daniel Baker,.....	1 00
Gideon Davis,.....	1 00
John Bailey,.....	2 0
Thomas L. Thruston,.....	1 00
S. Pleasonton,.....	2 00
Thomas Mustin,.....	1 00
James Moore,.....	1 00
Alexander McDonald,.....	1 00
John Woodside,.....	3 00
Cash,.....	2 00
J. McCleery,.....	2 00
John S. Shaw,.....	2 00
Richard Harrison,.....	2 00

John Coyle, jr.,.....	5 00
Mr. King,.....	2 00
Cash,.....	75
G. W. P. Custis, Esq.,.....	10 00
Dr. Carnahan,.....	2 0
A young lady,.....	2 00
Miss Dicks, a suit of clothes for the Agent in Africa,...	
A lady near Fredericktown, Md.,.....	10 00
Miss Susan Meade, Frede- rick county, Va.,.....	100 00
Two valuable pieces of can- non, from Gen. John Wason, (District of Columbia.	

*List of Donations received by the  
Rev. L. D. Dewey, of the state  
of New-York, 1823.*

Col. Henry Rutgers,.....	100 00
The annual subscription of the same gentleman for 5 years,.....	50 00
Catharine Disseyster,.....	25 00
H. Remsen,.....	5 00
Jonathan Little,.....	10 00
George Gallagher,.....	10 00
Gen. Mathew L. Clarkson, ..	25 00
T. W. Steinbrenner,.....	15 00
Wm. Smith,.....	5 00
A Friend,.....	1 00
A coloured female,.....	1 00
J. Seymour,.....	2 00
A collection in the Congrega- tional Church and Society in Lanesboro' Mass. on the 4th July, 1823,....	5 00
A collection in the Congrega- tional Church and Society Great Barrington, Mass. 4 July, 1823,.....	8 21
Collection in the Reformed Presb. Ch. N. Y. Nov. 29, 1823,.....	11 50
Do. cash from 2 individuals,	1 00
John Brown,.....	2 00
Rev. John Johnson, New- burg, N. Y. by ladies of his society,.....	30 00
Rev. Nathan Bangs, N. Y. by young ladies of the Metho- dist Episcopal Church,....	30 00
Rev. Gardner Spring, by la- dies of his Society,.....	30 00
Eliza Woodruff, Morristown, N. J.,.....	10 00

Thomas Bassel, Lausenburg,  
N. Y.. ..... 5 00

*Received in New-England by the  
Rev. Chester Wright.*

From a few friends of the So-  
ciety in Boston,.....62 00

From a few friends of the So-  
ciety in Salem,.....40 00

Donations mentioned by J.  
McPhail, Esq. Treasurer  
of the Norfolk Auxiliary  
Society :

From Wm. Maxwell, Esq....50 00

Do. do. Collections made by  
him,.....126 50

From Rev. Sam. Cornelius,  
for collections made by  
him,.....20 00

Ditto ..... 3 50

Total.....200 00

Donations of one dozen men's  
shoes, and one dozen wo-  
men's, by Geo. Wilson, of  
Smithfield, in the hands  
of J. McPhail.

*The following sums have been re-  
cently acknowledged by the Treas-  
urer, in the National Intelligen-  
cer :*

From the Rev. Charles H.  
Page, of Charlestown, Va.  
by the Rev. Mr. Hawley, 15 00

From Obed. Waite, Esq. Tr.  
of the Aux. Soc. Frederick  
county, Va..... 275 00

From Rev. Wm. McKenney,  
for the Aux. Soc. of Queen  
Ann's county, Md.....100 00

From Rev. George W. Jan-  
vier, Salem, New-Jersey,  
collected in his church,.... 5 00

From Rev. Joseph Caldwell,  
Chapel Hill, N. Carolina, 10 00

From Rev. C. Hyde, Doylestown,  
Penn.....10 00

From Rev. Jos. Smith, Har-  
risonburg, Va.....20 00

From Rev. Alex. Irvine, Ma-  
lone, New-York,.....20 00

From A. Smith, per Mr. Un-  
derwood,.....10 00

From G. W. P. Custis, Esq.  
annual subscriber,..... 5 00

For proceeds of work done by  
female teachers of Taney  
town, Md Sunday school, 20 00

From David J. Burr, to con-  
stitute Rev. Jesse H. Tur-  
ner a member for life,.....20 00

From a lady,..... 1 50

From Rev. Benj. J. Lowe, of  
Johnsonburg, N. Jersey,... 8 00

From Rev. W. Meade, in  
part of a legacy left by his  
sister, Lucy F. Meade,..750 00

From Rev. Mr. A. Shinn,.... 3 00

From Jno. Husks, Esq. Treas-  
urer of the Aux. Soc. Fay-  
etteville, N. Carolina,....48 00

From Abner McGreehee, of  
Georgia, per the Hon. Wi-  
ley Thompson,.....20 00

From the Richmond Auxili-  
ary Society,.....192 00

From the Fayetteville Soc...48 00

From the charity box of a  
young lady in the District,  
per the Rev. Mr. Gurley, 4 75

From Th. Tarbell, Esq. Bos-  
ton, collections taken up in  
consequence of a circular  
letter,.....500 00

From Dr. William H. Wil-  
mer, per Rev. Mr. Haw-  
ley,.....212 00

From Rev. John H. Church,  
D. D. of Pelham, N. H.... 2 00

Hon. Arthur Livermore,.... 5 00

William Slade, jun ..... 1 00

Hon. James T. Sandford, of  
Tennessee, for life,.....30 00

A stranger,.....10 00

For donations not mentioned in the above list, refer to the Treasurer's  
Account.

## LIST OF SOCIETIES

## AUXILIARY TO THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

## MARYLAND AUXILIARY SOCIETY,

(established in Baltimore.)

Col. John Eager Howard, *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

Gen. Robt. Goodloe Harper.....		.....Hon. Chief Justice Bruce.
Gen. Wm. H. Winder.....		.....
Luke Tiernan, <i>Treasurer</i> .		Edward J. Coale, <i>Secretary</i> .

## NEW-YORK AUXILIARY SOCIETY.

Col. Henry Rutgers, *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

1st, Col. William Few.....		3d, Mr. Divie Bethune,.....
2d, Rev. Alexander M'Leod, D. D..		4th, Rev. Philip Milledoler, D. D

Mr. Crove Wright, *Treasurer*.Rev. Paschal N. Strong, *Corresponding Secretary*.John B. Beck, M. D. *Recording Secretary*.Loring D. Dewey, *Agent of the General Society*.

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF ANNAPOLIS.

J. T. Chase, *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

1st, William Kilty.....		11th, Wm. D. Digges.. ..
2d, Thomas Blackstone.....		12th, Wm. R. Stuart.....
3d, William Spencer.....		13th, Ephraim K. Wilson.....
4th, Peter Emmerson.....		14th, R. B. Taney.....
5th, C. Dorsey.....		15th, Charles S. Sewall.....
6th, Dr. Thomas Johnson.....		16th, William Hughlett.....
7th, William Hayward.....		17th, Thomas Kennedy.....
8th, James Murray.....		18th, George C. Washington..
9th, Benjamin W. Lecompte.....		19th, James Tidball.....
10th, John Moffat.....		.....

A. C Magruder, *Secretary* | Jonathan Pinkney, *Treasurer*.  
 John Brewer, *Recorder*.

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF FREDERICK COUNTY, VA.

Nathaniel Burwell, *President*.Obed. Waite *Treasurer*..... | Augustine C. Smith, *Secretary*



## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD.

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF HARPER'S FERRY, VA.

John Stubblefield, *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

William M'Guire.....		.....Edward Wager
Armistead Beckham.....		.....Roger Humphreys.
Jacob Wark, <i>Treasurer</i> .....		.....John P. M'Guire, <i>Secretary</i> .

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF LOUDON COUNTY, VA.

John Mines, *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

Samuel Murray.....		.....Sydney Baily.
Ludwell Lee.....		.....Johnson Cleaveland.
Israel Janney.....		.....Burr Powell.
James Moore.....		.....James Heaton.
Mahlon Taylor.....		.....William Elzey.
Samuel Nichols.....		.....William Noland.
Isaac Brown.....		.....
R. D. Henderson, <i>Treasurer</i> .....		.....Richard H. Lee, <i>Secretary</i> .

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF CHARLESTOWN, JEFFERSON COUNTY, VA.

Dr. Samuel I. Gramer, *President*.*Vice-Presidents.*

Bushrod C. Washington.....		.....John T. A. Washington.
Adam Weaver.....		.....George W. Humphreys.
Henry S. Turner.....		.....Nathaniel Craighill.
Robt. Washington, <i>Treasurer</i>		.....John Marshall, <i>Secretary</i> .

## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF SHEPHERDSTOWN, VA.

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Dr. Peachy Harrison.....		.....Rev. Daniel Baker.
Major John Kenny.....		.....Col. Samuel H. Lewis.
David Steele, <i>Treasurer</i> .....		Dr. Peachy Harrison } <i>Secretaries.</i>
.....		James Bush..... }

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George Barnitz..... | ....Jacob Eichelberger.  
 John Schmidt, *Treasurer*.... | ..John Gardiner, *Secretary*.

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## AUXILIARY SOCIETY IN NEW LONDON, VA.

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James Stephen, Sen..... | . ....Col. John Wall.

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 Jacob Hubbard..... | .....Abel Coffin.  
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## AUXILIARY SOCIETY OF MILLEDGEVILLE, Geo.

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*Proposals, for publishing, by subscription, under the direction of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, a monthly periodical work, to be entitled the*

*AFRICAN REPOSITORY, AND COLONIAL JOURNAL.*

---

The deep and increasing interest which is felt in many parts of this country, on the subject of the efforts to Colonize the free people of colour of the United States, on the African coast, has induced the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society, to propose the establishment of a periodical work, which shall furnish the public with accurate information concerning the plans and prospects of their Institution; give a minute account of its operations, and of the condition and progress of the colony; communicate any new and interesting intelligence which may be received, relating to the Geography, Natural History, Manners and Customs of Africa; and admit into its pages, such essays as may be thought calculated to advance the interests of the Colony, or the cause of African improvement, as well as select passages from authors who have already written on this subject; and important extracts from the Reports of such foreign Associations as are making exertions to suppress the Slave-Trade, or relieve the African race.

### CONDITIONS.

- I. The work shall comprise thirty-two pages in each number, and shall be similar in paper, and in the style of execution, to the Christian Observer.
- II. The price shall be two dollars a year, payable on the delivery of the sixth number.
- III. Those who shall become responsible for six copies, shall receive a seventh gratis.
- IV. The work will be commenced whenever the number of Subscribers shall be sufficient to justify it. It is earnestly requested, therefore, that those who may obtain Subscribers, should forward their lists as soon as possible, to R. R. GURLEY, *Agent of the Society, George Town.*